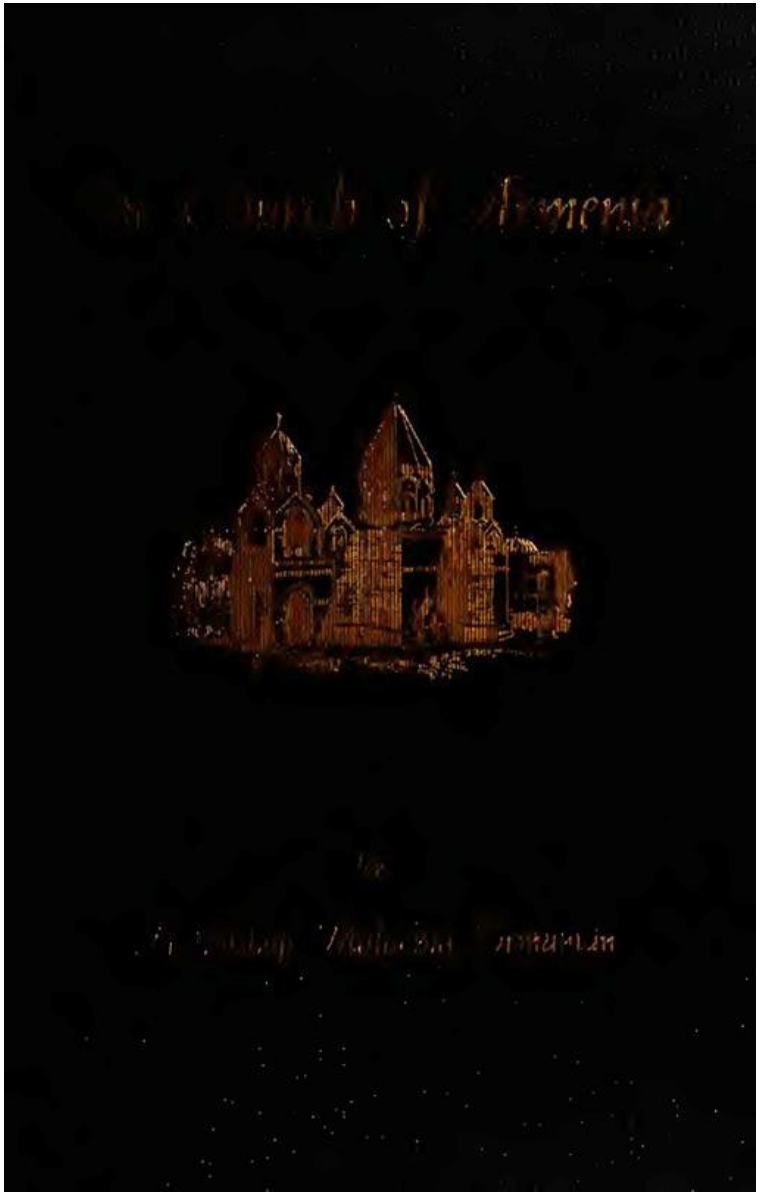

The Church of Armenia

THE HISTORY, DOCTRINE, RULE, DISCIPLINE
LITURGY AND LITERATURE

By

ARCHBISHOP

MALACHIA ORMANIAN

ARMENIAN PATRIARCH OF CONSTANTINOPLE, 1896-1908

TRANSLATED BY

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WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY

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MALACHIA ORMANIAN

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INTRODUCTION

By Bishop Welldon

The task of writing an Introduction to Mr. Gregory's translation of Mgr. Ormanian's book upon the Church of Armenia is not free from difficulty; nor is it made the less difficult because the Bishop who should have written it, had his life been spared, was a man of such wide and various learning as the late Bishop of Salisbury, Dr. Wordsworth. Yet in that Church there is much that is interesting to all Christians, and perhaps especially to members of the Church of England. For the history of the Church of Armenia is a witness to certain great principles of ecclesiastical life. It is a protest against the assumed infallibility and universality of the Church of Rome. For the Church of Armenia believes that "no Church, however great in herself, represents the whole of Christendom; that each one, taken singly, can be mistaken, and to the Universal Church alone belongs the privilege of infallibility in her dogmatic decisions". She takes her stand then upon the national character and prerogative of Churches. She holds, as the Church of England holds, that it is a fraternity of Churches tracing their pedigree backwards to an Apostolical origin, developing themselves on separate lines, yet knit together by a common creed and by spiritual union with the same Divine Head, which constitutes the true ideal of the Universal Church.

The Church of Armenia claims descent from the Apostles St. Bartholomew and St. Thaddaeus. Whether it is or is not true that "Armenia was the first state in the world to proclaim Christianity as its official religion," there is no doubt that Armenia as a whole was converted to Christianity at the very beginning of the fourth century A.D. by the preaching of St. Grigor Partev (Gregory the Parthian), better known as St. Gregory the Illuminator. He became the first Catholicos of Armenia. He ruled and organised the Armenian Church, and it is curious to notice that he died in the year of the Council of Nicaea, A.D. 325.

From St. Gregory's day to the present the Church of Armenia has pursued an independent course. In her early history she resisted the controlling influence of the Churches of Caesarea, of Antioch, of

Constantinople. In later times she has been subject to aggressions from the Greek, the Syrian, and the Latin Churches, and in some degree from missionaries of the various Protestant denominations. But although individual secessions from her communion have taken place, she has never compromised her separate national life. To quote Mgr. Ormanian, she has "always understood the meaning of union in the true and strict sense of the term. She has desired to see its establishment on the basis of a spiritual communion between the Churches, of mutual respect for their several positions, of liberty for each within the limits of her own sphere, and of the spirit of Christian charity overruling all."

One special merit of the book now recommended to English readers is that it is an appreciation of the Church of Armenia not from without, but from within. The author, as having himself been the Armenian Patriarch of Constantinople, is entitled to put forward the case of his own Church. It is thus that he claims a hearing for his repudiation of the Eutychian heresy so frequently associated with the Church of Armenia. It is thus too that he dwells with authority upon the unfailing tolerance characteristic of that Church in all the ages.

Not only is the Church of Armenia a standing instance of a Church developing on her own historical lines, but her independence is exemplified in numerous aspects of her past and present history. It will be enough to instance her recognition of three, and three only, Oecumenical Councils, the small number of the dogmas upon which she insists as necessary to salvation, her estimate and use of the sacraments, her hierarchical system, the strong influence of her laity in deliberation and administration, the dependence of her clergy upon voluntary offerings, her so-called dominical festivals, her special hagiology, and the democratic spirit which has endeared her to the nation.

It is probable that no other book gives so clear an account of the Church of Armenia in so brief a space as that of Mgr. Ormanian. If I do not mistake it, it will create in the minds of Anglican Churchmen not only a keen sympathy with the Church of Armenia, but a stronger confidence than ever in the strength of their own ecclesiastical position as accordant with the spirit and practice of the Christian Churches which are not merged in the

Church of Rome, and as justified not only by ecclesiastical history, but by the Spirit and Will of Jesus Christ Himself.

J. E. C. Welldon.

March 16th, 1912.

PREFACE

The intention of Mgr. Ormanian in writing his work in French was to place before the Western public an authentic account of a Church regarding which much ignorance and misrepresentation prevail; and it is a special privilege in being accorded his permission to join in the attempt to dispel such ignorance and misrepresentation by placing this translation before English readers interested in ecclesiastical history.

It is not uncommon in this country for the term "Armenian" to be connected in some way with massacres, which, with periodic recurrence for centuries, have played havoc with the nation's fatherland and Church. On the other hand, the innermost history of Armenia and her Church has been practically a sealed book, except for such glimpses which have been vouchsafed by a few foreign writers and compilers, whose statements have frequently to be taken with caution.

An ancient nation, which has seen empires around it rise and disappear, which has been through the fires of persecution as few nations have, and which, in spite of every possible drawback, political and religious, still upholds its Church as the emblem of its nationhood—such a nation cannot but be possessed of an inborn independence of character which, under favourable surroundings, is the best augury for human activity and progress. This essentially democratic race of sturdy highlanders has, however, had to battle single-handed against the most terrible odds; and in their fight, whether it be for their fatherland or their religion, they have offered up themselves and their most cherished belongings as a willing sacrifice, rallying round their Church as the one bond of their traditional nationality.

It is to this Church, which, to the present day, acts as a powerful link, holding together the remnants of the nation scattered throughout the world, that these pages are devoted. Her history cannot be unimportant to those who study ecclesiastical questions, but such history must bear the stamp of accuracy. English readers cannot be blamed for what is provided by their own historians; and, as to the misrepresentations referred to above, one instance from a well-known writer, which has been unfortunately copied by

others, will be sufficient for our purpose. Gibbon says that "the Armenians alone are the pure disciples of Eutyches, an unfortunate parent who has been renounced by the greater part of his spiritual progeny[1]." Gibbon's knowledge was gained from Jesuit sources (see Professor Bury's note to the above); and, even while he was writing these lines, the Armenian clergy were continuing to pronounce, as they had done for centuries, their anathemas against Eutyches and the rest of the band who are recognised as heresiarchs by the Orthodox Churches.

To those who have studied the subject more intimately, and are versed in Armenian literature, it is an evident fact that the differences regarding orthodoxy and heresy, which gave rise to bitter religious animosities after the Council of Chalcedon and have continued ever since, are mostly due to trivial distinctions of meaning as to the use of words for the same thing in different languages, and seldom touch essential points. The Armenian liturgy is a proof of this statement. Side by side with the misrepresentation which has been stereotyped by Gibbon, we have sympathetic references to this Church which do honour to the spirit of criticism and of truth.

Dr. J. M. Neale thus compares the Armenian and the English Churches:

"It seems to me that the cases of the Armenian and English Churches present some parallels. As the former is confounded with Monophysite, so is the latter with Calvinian heresy; the one in her Creeds, the other in her Articles, seems to give some colour, at first sight, to the charge; the one and the other, both in other formulae, and by their chief Doctors, have protested against it; the one and the other nevertheless do contain many in their bosom who are implicated in the heresy respectively charged, and it is to be hoped that the day will come when both one and the other, in the sight of the Church Catholic, will vindicate their innocence, and assume their own place of honour[2]".

One other reference on this subject would not be out of place. Archdeacon Dowling, of St. Luke's Mission in Palestine, whose interest in the Armenian Church extends over twenty years, and who throws many

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[1] *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire.* By E. Gibbon. Vol. v., p. 158. London: Methuen & Co., 1898.

[2] *A History of the Holy Eastern Church.* By J. M. Neale. Part I. General Introduction. London, 1850. *Vide* p. 1091, *' On the Claims of the Armenian Church to Orthodoxy."

interesting sidelights on the Church, thus refers to the orthodoxy of that Church on page 60 of his *Armenian Church*[3]*:*

"In the controversy concerning the two Natures in Christ, the Armenian Church has been cruelly misrepresented by the majority of historians. The opinion enunciated at the Lambeth Conference of 1908 (in the Report of the Committee on *The Separate Churches of the East*), containing the following paragraph, is worthy of careful consideration:

"'The Armenian Church, now scattered far and wide, with the ancient Nation of whose history it is the most striking and significant part, declares with justice that its absence from the Council of Chalcedon was due to political reasons, more than anything else, and has always strenuously denied, and apparently with no little reason, the charges of Aphthartodocetic heresy which has been levelled against it'.

"In order to prove that the Armenians are neither Monophysites nor Eutychians, it is necessary to state their view of their own position."

With these words, Archdeacon Dowling then proceeds to quote the opinions of Armenian divines of the early ages of their Church; and cites, as an additional proof of his statement, extracts from the *Authorised Catechism* of that Church.

Dean Stanley, writing of the Armenians and their Church, thus characterises them:

"The Armenians are by far the most powerful, and the most widely diffused, in the group of purely Oriental Churches of which we are now speaking, and as such exercise a general influence over all of them. ... A race, a Church, of merchant princes, they are in quietness, in wealth, in steadiness, the 'Quakers' of the East.... [4]"

With regard to their diffusion and influence here alluded to, a glance at Appendix II *(excepted in this edition)* of this work will assist in corroborating the extensive power for good the Church has been enabled to exercise in the countries of the Near East.

We have referred above to Dr. Neale's parallelism between the Armenian and the English Churches in being misrepresented as to matters of doctrine.

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[3] *The Armenian Church*. By Archdeacon Dowling, D.D. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1910.

[4] *Lectures on the History of the Eastern Church*. By Arthur Penrhyn Stanley, D.D. London: John Murray, 1864. pp. 6, 7.

We might go a step further and compare these Churches as to the spirit of liberalism and of tolerance which is as largely prevalent in the one as in the other. The author's words in this connection, so far as they refer to the Armenian Church, will be found not only illuminating, but distinctly indicative of that desire for intercommunion which all but extremists among Christians hope for. Indeed, this spirit has been already reciprocated in the act towards Armenians by some Anglican bishops as opportunity has occurred.

With regard to the spelling and form of Armenian names in this work, the Armenian pronunciation has been rigidly followed. By this process it has been possible to avoid the grotesque and arbitrary transformations, in supposed Latinised form, which have appeared in some important works on this Church. To make the names clear to English readers, a list of them used in this work is appended, with their English equivalents.

A deep debt of gratitude is due to the late Dr. John Wordsworth, Bishop of Salisbury, who, within a month of his lamented death, offered to write an Introduction to this work on a Church in which he took the keenest interest. Though the Introduction was never written, the late Bishop's notes on the points which he considered worthy of notice were inscribed by him on the back of the French edition, and are in the translator's possession. An equal measure of gratitude is due to Bishop Welldon for undertaking, in the midst of the numerous calls on his time, to introduce this work to English readers.

In conclusion, the translator must ask the indulgence of the reader for any shortcomings in his task, which should be assigned to the venturesome spirit of a layman in trespassing on ecclesiastical ground. Should the smallest measure of interest be aroused in this, the oldest national Church in the world, whose liturgy stands unrivalled for purity, and behind whose ornate ritual can be seen the simplicity of the early Christian faith, the labour of translating will not have been undertaken in vain. The Church of Armenia has been crushed for centuries between the upper and the nether millstones of political rivalry and conquest, and during these long ages "religious liberty" has had to be secured by sheer independence of character and the shedding of much blood. What that Church needs in her dire distress is the sympathetic outstretched hand of fellowship from liberal Western Christendom, which conforms most to her own democratic spirit, to enable

her to continue the work she has accomplished in keeping the fire of the faith alive for sixteen centuries against the most overwhelming odds. She does not need proselytising.

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36, GUNTERSTONE ROAD,
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March 18th, 1912.

LIST OF ARMENIAN NAMES WITH THEIR EQUIVALENTS IN ENGLISH

Where transformations are obvious, the names are not included. Others again, such as Nerses, Aristakes, Vertanes, are purely Armenian, and must be taken in their Armenian form.

Astouadzatoor	Stands for	Adeodatus
Barsegh	"	Basil
Eghia or Yeghia	"	Elias
Eghiazar or Yeghiazar	"	Eleazar
Ghazar	"	Lazarus
Ghevond or Ghevondius	"	Leon or Leontius
Ghoukas	"	Luke
Grigor	"	Gregory
Gueorg	"	George
Hacob	"	Jacob or James
Hovakim	"	Joakim
Hovhannes or Ohan	"	John
Hovsep	"	Joseph
Mariam	"	Mary
Mkrtitch	"	Baptist
Movses	"	Moses
Petros	"	Peter
Philippos	"	Philip
Poghos	"	Paul
Sahak	"	Isaac
Sarkis	"	Sergius
Soghomon	"	Solomon
Stepanos	"	Stephen
Tirdat	"	Tiridates
Yeghiazar or Eghiazar	"	Eleazar
Yeghisohe	"	Elisha
Yeprem	"	Ephraim
Yeremia	"	Jeremiah
Yessai	"	Isaiah
Yezr	"	Ezra or Esdras

PART I

HISTORY

CHAPTER I

Origin of the Armenian Church

The facts connected with the origin of every Church are hidden under an impenetrable veil; and our inquiry is baffled by reason of the want of genuine documents such as would throw light on the doings of the first apostles and on apostolic activity in general. The Roman Church, which, in this respect, appears to be in a more favourable position, from the fact that she took her rise in the capital of the empire, has to grapple with the self-same difficulties, when it comes to the question of proving the sojourn of St. Peter at Rome. And yet this is, for her, an essential fact; for it lies at the root of her entire system. For lack of something better, ecclesiastical history contents itself with evidence of strong probability, with arguments based on tradition, and on occurrences which have been kept alive through successive generations. It is sufficient that the great mass of presumptions is not opposed to the positive and ascertained data of history. We should not ask more of the Armenian Church to prove her origin.

The primitive and unvarying tradition of this Church acknowledges as original founders the apostles St. Thaddeus and St. Bartholomew, whom she designates by the appellation of the *First Illuminators of Armenia.* She protects their graves, which are preserved and venerated in the ancient churches of Ardaze (Magou) and Albac (Baschkale), situated in the south-east of Armenia. All Christian Churches are unanimous in recognising the tradition concerning St. Bartholomew, his apostolic journeys, his preaching, and his martyrdom in Armenia. The name Albanus, which is given to the scene of his martyrdom, is one and the same with the name Albacus, hallowed by the Armenian tradition. With regard to St. Thaddeus, traditions vary. Some recognise in him one Thaddeus Didymus, brother of the apostle St. Thomas, and according to these he is said to have travelled to Ardaze by way of Edessa, living in secret among the Greeks and the Latins. With regard to the Syrian tradition, which gives credit to the existence of a Thaddeus Didymus, its acceptance is questionable so far as it relates to the journey from Edessa to Ardaze; but, on examining this doubtful point a little more closely, we discover omissions in the text which are seemingly

wilful, and disclose even an anachronism, which would transfer the incident to the second century of the Christian era. However, without wishing to dwell unduly on the importance of that tradition, we would point out that the name of Thaddeus cannot be discarded; because we can point to a second tradition, according to which the evangelisation of Armenia was the work of the apostle St. Judas Thaddeus, surnamed Lebbeus. This circumstance, admitted by the Greek and Latin Churches, and recognised by Armenian writers, is fully in accordance with historic truth, and goes to confirm generally the tradition, supported by the undoubted proof of the sanctuary at Ardaze.

The apostolic character of the Armenian Church, which she has always claimed, and which she has proclaimed in all her transactions, bears testimony on the one hand to an origin both ancient and primitive, and on the other hand to one which is direct and autocephalic, without the intervening agency of another Church.

The apostolic origin, which is essential to every Christian Church, in order to place her in union with her Divine Founder, is claimed to be direct when that origin is traced back to the individual work of one of the apostles; it is indirect when it is derived from a Church which herself has a primitively apostolic basis. The Armenian Church can rightly lay claim to such a direct apostolic origin. The chronology which is generally adopted ascribes to the mission of St. Thaddeus a period of eight years (35-43 A.D.); and to that of St. Bartholomew a period of sixteen years (44-60 A.D.). It is inexpedient in this place to discuss the relative details Regarding the question of dates and places, which is apt to lead to endless controversy.

The apostolic origin of the Armenian Church is hence established as an incontrovertible fact in ecclesiastical history. And if tradition and historic sources, which sanction this view, should give occasion for criticism, these have no greater weight than the difficulties created with regard to the origin of other apostolic Churches, which are universally admitted as such.

CHAPTER II

The Primitive Era of the Armenian Church

It was in the year 301 A.D., at the beginning of the fourth century, that Christianity became the prevailing religion in Armenia. Before that date it had never ceased to be the object of persecution. But we must admit that the accounts which have come down to us of the existence and of the progress of Christianity in Armenia during the three previous centuries, are as scanty as they are devoid of importance. They cannot bear, from the point of view of fullness of information, comparison with the records which deal with the same period of Graeco-Roman history. But deficiency of records by no means establishes a proof of the non-existence of an actual fact.

The Graeco-Roman world, then at the apogee of its civilisation, comprised within it a large number of writers and scholars, and through its schools was in the forefront of intellectual progress. Armenia, on the other hand, was still plunged in ignorance. Far from being in possession of a national literature, she was still in search of an alphabet. Under these conditions, one must admit that it has been difficult for her to write accounts and narratives of events, which could not but have been of interest to posterity. Nevertheless, whatever facts have been handed down to us by national tradition, with the additional support of the narratives of foreign writers, are more than sufficient, we presume, to prove the existence of Christianity at definite periods. Now, common sense precludes us from thinking that the spread of the faith could have undergone intermittent eclipses during this space of time. Records such as these, detached and with no connecting bond between them, follow each other during that period, and prove the unbroken existence of Christianity in Armenia.

In this connection we should mention an early tradition ascribing to the see of Ardaze a line of seven bishops, namely, Zakaria for a period of sixteen years; Zementus, four years; Atirnerseh, fifteen years; Mousche, thirty years; Schahen, twenty-five years; Schavarsch, twenty years; and Ghevondius, seventeen years. A computation of these periods carries us to the end of the second century.

Another tradition assigns to the see of Sunik a line of eight bishops, who were the successors of St. Eustathius, the first evangeliser of that province. These bishops are Kumsi, Babylas, Mousche, who was afterwards translated to the see of Ardaze, Movses (Moses) of Taron, Sahak (Isaac) of Taron, Zirvandat, Stepanus (Stephen), and Hovhannes (John). With this last we are brought to the first quarter of the third century.

Moreover, Eusebius quotes a letter of the patriarch Dionysius of Alexandria, written in 254 A.D., to Mehroujan (Mitrozanes), bishop of Armenia, who was a successor of the above-mentioned bishops of Ardaze.

The Armenian Church contains in her martyrology the commemoration of many Armenian martyrs of the apostolic era. We notice therein the names of St. Sandoukhte, of royal blood; of St. Zarmandoukhte, a noble lady; of satraps such as St. Samuel and St. Israel; of a thousand Armenians who were martyred at the same time as the apostle St. Thaddeus; of St. Ogouhie, a royal princess, and of St. Terentius, a soldier, who were martyred with the apostle St. Bartholomew; and of the holy virgins Mariam of Houssik, Anna of Ormisdat, and Martha of Makovtir, disciples of St. Bartholomew. The Church calendar contains the festivals of St. Oski (Chryssus) and of his four companions, of St. Soukias and of his eighteen companions, who were martyred at the beginning of the second century. The Latin martyrology commemorates St. Acacius with ten thousand militiamen, who were martyred on Ararat, in Armenia, in the reign of Hadrian.

To these facts must be added the passage in Tertullian, the well-known ecclesiastical writer of the second century, who, in quoting the text of the Acts of the Apostles (ii. 9), where the countries are enumerated, whose languages were heard by the people on the day of Pentecost, makes mention of *Armenia,* lying between Mesopotamia and Cappadocia, in place of *Judaea,* which is the one named in the text of the ordinary Bible. Judaea could not have been included among foreign countries, and we know that it is not situated between Mesopotamia and Cappadocia. Logically speaking, the country indicated is no other than Armenia. St. Augustine likewise follows the reading of Tertullian. We thus see that the two fathers of the African Church were impressed with the conviction that Christianity was spread among the Armenians in the apostolic age.

Indeed, the almost instantaneous conversion of the whole of Armenia to Christianity at the beginning of the fourth century cannot be explained but by the pre-existence of a Christian element which had taken root in the country. As a matter of fact, history records religious persecutions which must have been perpetrated by the kings Artasches (Artaxerxes) about the year 110 A.D., Khosrov (Chosroes) about 230, and Tirdat (Tiridates) about 287. These would certainly not have occurred if there had not been in Armenia a large number of Christians. It was during the last of these persecutions that the martyrdom took place of St. Theodore Salahouni, who was put to death by his own father, the satrap Souren.

Confronted by such facts, we are justified in inferring the existence of Christianity in Armenia during the first three centuries; that it counted amongst its adherents a considerable number of the people; and that this first nucleus of the faithful, by its steadfast energy, at length succeeded in gaining the mastery over both obstacles and persecutions.

CHAPTER III

The Complete Conversion of Armenia

The date of the conversion of Armenia as a whole to Christianity, or, in other words, of the institution of that religion as the dominant one of the country, is commonly ascribed to the year 301, by the most careful chronological research. Later writers even place the date at the year 285, but that cannot be regarded as probable. The date 301 is sufficient for our purpose to show that Armenia was the first state in the world to proclaim Christianity as its official religion, by the conversion of the king, the royal family, the satraps, the army, and the people. The conversion of Constantine took place but twelve years later, that is, in 313.

The author of this wonderful conversion was St. Grigor Partev (Gregory the Parthian), surnamed by the Armenians Lusavoritch, that is, *The Illuminator,* in that he enlightened the nation with the light of the gospel. The king Tiridates, who was joint apostle and illuminator with him, belonged to the dynasty of the Arsacides, of Parthian origin, with which the father of St. Grigor was also connected; so that in this way a kinship united the convert king with the saint; but a more potent bond than kinship in blood was the faith which united the two.

A political insurrection had at that time been brought about in Persia, and as a sequel to it the Arsacides were succeeded by the Sassanides. Nevertheless, the Armenian branch of the Arsacides still continued in power. In order to ensure the security of the new dynasty, the overthrow of the portion still remaining defiant had to be considered; but the army was not on the side of the Sassanides. Then Anak, an Arsacide prince, volunteered to assassinate Khosrov (Chosroes), king of Armenia, a near relative of his. It came about that he himself also fell a victim to assassination at the hands of the Armenian satraps. Grigor was the son of Anak, and Tiridates that of Chosroes; and in the year 240, the date of the double assassination, these two were still minors.

Without entering into biographical details, it will suffice to mention that Grigor was educated in the principles of Christianity at Caesarea in

Cappadocia, and that Tiridates, brought up in the religion of his ancestors, had to submit to the changes brought about by the wars between the Romans and the Persians. With the support of the emperor Diocletian, he ascended the throne for the last time in 287; and it was on the occasion of some votive festivities, organised at Eriza (Erzinguian) for the celebration of this event, that the faith and the family connection of Grigor were revealed to him. He then learnt that Grigor, after excruciating tortures, had been cast into the dungeon or the pits (Virap) of Artaschat (Artaxata), where he remained incarcerated for about fifteen years. That he survived this long ordeal is a striking testimony in history of divine intervention.

At this time a band of Christian virgins, under the guidance of the abbess, St. Gaiane, came to Vagharschapat, the capital of Armenia, in their flight from the persecutions which had been raging in the provinces of the Roman Empire. It was generally believed that they came from Rome, by way of Palestine and Mesopotamia; but there is nothing to preclude the idea that they came rather from the adjacent provinces, and most probably from Midzbin (Nisibis), if we take into account the acts connected with the martyrdom of St. Phebronia. The exceptional beauty of one of these virgins, St. Rhipsime, attracted the king, who desired to get possession of her. But, besides the resistance she offered to his attempts, various circumstances, such as the martyrdom of the thirty-seven virgins, the fit of demoniacal[5] possession, to which the king was a prey, the futility of the remedies, the insistence of his sister, Khosrovidoukhte, beseeching him to implore the help of the God of the Christians, his healing obtained through the prayers of Grigor, who had at length been restored to liberty, are the events which followed each other during the latter months of the year 300 and the early months of 301, and these led to the conversion of Tiridates, who, with the zeal of a neophyte, hastened to proclaim Christianity as the religion of the State.

Grigor, who was a mere layman, had at his command neither missionaries nor a band of clergy; and yet before the end of the year 301 the religious aspect of Armenia had undergone a complete change; the worship of the gods had almost entirely disappeared, and the profession of Christianity had become general. This would be an event of an

[5] Lycanthropy. The king is said to have assumed the form of a boar.

unaccountable nature, did we not admit the pre-existence of Christianity in the country, as it has been already pointed out.

Evidences of this wonderful conversion are to be found not only in the narratives of contemporary writers, and of historians of the succeeding century, but also in the existence of monuments such as the churches of St. Rhipsime, of St. Gaiane, and of St. Mariamne, or of Schoghakath, which were built in the fourth century in the vicinity of Etchmiadzin (formerly Vagharschapat); and in the tombs of the martyred virgins, as well as in authentic inscriptions which relate to them. A further testimony, not less valuable, is also to be found in the writings of Eusebius, who mentions the war of the year 311, which the emperor Maximianus, the Dacian, declared against the Armenians on account of their recent conversion.

CHAPTER IV

Formation of the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy

Owing to the splendour of the services he had rendered, St. Grigor was naturally chosen to be the head of the Armenian Church. Raised to this dignity by the will of the king and of the nation, he received episcopal consecration at the hands of Leontius, archbishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia, in the year 302. The event is attested by all historians of the period and by national tradition. But this consecration gave rise to a controversy with regard to its significance, and consequently, as to the nature of the hierarchic relation between the sees of Armenia and of Caesarea. According to the Greeks, the see of Armenia was suffragan to that of Caesarea, and the antagonism, which divided them in the fifth century, should be ascribed to a schism. According to the Latins, the see of Armenia, originally connected with that of Caesarea, was subsequently instituted as an autocephalic see through the licence of pope Sylvester I. Such is not the opinion of the Armenians, who believe that the see of Armenia is of apostolic creation, and that it has been independent since its origin. It is certain that it was but revived by St. Grigor, and the consecration, which he received at Caesarea, by no means indicated subordination, nor an hierarchic dependence.

Those who endeavour to make the see of Armenia suffragan to that of Caesarea, take their stand on the hypothesis that the apostolic preaching in Armenia was nothing but a passing episode, which ended with the death of the apostles; that the preaching of St. Grigor would not have taken place but by direction of the see of Caesarea; that Christianity, in fact, was not established in Armenia, for the first time, until the fourth century. After what has already been said, it is not necessary to recapitulate the evidences of the positive existence of Christianity in Armenia before the time of St. Grigor.

As to the supposed licence granted by Sylvester, it rests on no more than an apocryphal document, which was fabricated by the Armenians at the time of the Crusades. The object of that document was to protect the

independence of the see of Armenia without offending the *amour propre* of the papacy, and at the same time to invoke the aid of the Crusaders in the interests of their kingdom in Cilicia. Moreover, all historical, chronological, critical, and philological information at our disposal unite in declaring the spuriousness of this document, which no longer finds a defender. The independence of the see of Armenia from the very beginning, which has never ceased to be maintained by the patriarchs and writers of the Armenian Church, is superabundantly confirmed by other facts and incidents.

It is well known that the system of jurisdiction and the mutual dependence of patriarchs and of metropolitans in the Roman Empire was modelled on the civil organisation of prefects and of pro-consuls. The two institutions, civil and ecclesiastical, were in exact juxtaposition. Consequently, those regions, which happened not to form an integral part of the empire, remained outside the organisation of the patriarchates which were there established. It was thus that the independent sees of Armenia, of Persia, and of Ethiopia came into being outside the empire.

It is true that the existence of the provinces of First Armenia (Sebaste) and of Second Armenia (Melitene), within the limits of the jurisdiction of the exarchate of Pontus (Caesarea), could frequently have given rise to a confusion of names; for these two provinces have been confounded with Armenia Major and Armenia Minor. If we were to compare the Statement of the patriarchates with the Lists of civil provinces, this mistake would be clearly seen.

At no period has the see of Caesarea, nor that of Antioch or Constantinople, exercised any authority or jurisdiction in Armenia properly so called; and all that is to be found in this connection in the letters of St. Basil of Caesarea relates exclusively to the bishoprics of Nicopolis, of Satala, etc., which were situated within the limits of the First and Second Armenias, and which were dependent on the exarchate of Pontus.

Moreover, the history of the ecclesiastical relations between the chief sees at the beginning of the fourth century and before the Council of Nicaea in 325, if carefully studied, will be found to contain nothing to induce us to presume the intervention of one see in the affairs of another; and that is not surprising, for each ecclesiastical district had its limits strictly confined to that of the political district, on the model of which it was constituted.

Besides, we do not find in the history of the fourth and fifth centuries that any alteration had occurred in the relations between the sees of Armenia and of Caesarea. This absence of evidence justifies us in concluding that the same system of independence had not ceased to be the governing principle of this Church since her institution.

In fact, all that the advocates of a contrary view have been able to formulate up to the present amounts to pure hypothesis. Their views are based on a state of things which never existed in the century of which we are speaking, but were rather the outcome of later centuries. During the Byzantine domination in Armenia, and later, under the influence of the Crusades, incidents of an indistinct and questionable nature may have affected the relations of different sees; but those incidents could have had no retrospective action, nor could they have altered the issues of earlier centuries.

Therefore, the consecration of St. Grigor by the archbishop of Caesarea must be ascribed to circumstances of a casual nature, perhaps even to a personal desire on the part of St. Grigor, who had received his education in Caesarea. It should not be used as an argument from which we are to infer a system of hierarchic relationship.

CHAPTER V

The Armenian Church in the Fourth Century

St. Grigor controlled the Armenian Church for a quarter of a century, carrying out all that was necessary for bestowing on her an organisation both perfect and sound. We are indebted to him for the canons which bear his name; for the homilies which are ascribed to him, and for certain services of a disciplinary and liturgical order, which date back to his time. He established close on four hundred episcopal and archiepiscopal dioceses for the spiritual government of Armenia and of the surrounding country. He was the moving spirit in the conversion of Georgia, of Caspian Albania, and of Atropatene, whither he despatched leaders and ecclesiastics. He died at the time of the meeting of the Council of Nicaea (325). His sons succeeded him; first the younger, who was unmarried, St. Aristakes (325-333); then the elder, St. Vertanes (333-341), who was a married man. The latter had as his successor his own son, St. Houssik (341-347). The retention of the patriarchate in the family of St. Grigor was at the wish of the nation, either as a desire to do homage to the great Illuminator, or as an unconscious compliance with the influences of a pagan custom. The refusal of the sons of Houssik to take orders introduced to the patriarchal see Paren of Aschtischat, a collateral relative (348-352); soon, however, the succession reverted to the direct line by the election of St. Nerses, the grandson of Houssik (353-373). But while the only son of Nerses was still of an age which made him ineligible for preferment, the nation arranged for the successive appointment of Schahak (373-377), Zaven (377-381), and Aspourakes (381-386), the descendants, all of them, of the priestly household of Albianus, who had assisted St. Grigor in the work of evangelisation. After that the patriarchal dignity reverted once more to the family of Grigor, in the person of the son of Nerses, St. Sahak (Isaac), who completed his full jubilee on the patriarchal throne (387-439). It is, indeed, true that the accuracy of the chronology of the patriarchs of the fourth century is disputed by modern historians, but the data from which we draw our facts have been gathered by research made directly from the original sources.

The Armenian Church in the fourth century, though hierarchically and administratively well organised, lacked, nevertheless, an element of the utmost necessity: a version of the Bible and a ritual written in her own language; the Armenian, who was as yet unprovided with an alphabet, could not set down in writing the living word of the sacred books. Scholastic instruction was acquired in foreign languages, and the famous schools of Caesarea in Cappadocia and of Edessa in Osroene were the only centres of enlightenment accessible to Armenia at that time. The Greek language was in use in the schools of Caesarea, where the students of the northern provinces resorted; Syrian prevailed at Edessa, where flocked the students from the south. St. Grigor was the first to establish schools, at the head of which he was obliged to appoint foreign teachers. His successors followed his example; but it was St. Nerses who gave the most intense impetus to the furtherance of scholastic and charitable institutions.

In spite of the combined efforts of St. Grigor and of king Tiridates towards the complete Christianisation of Armenia, pagan worship had not yet entirely disappeared from the country. In the mountainous districts the old-established deities were still in evidence by their altars and their priests. In vain were the efforts of the patriarchs to root out these ancient practices, which retained their hold until the time of St. Nerses, who dealt them a severe blow. Yet traces of them were still met with in the time of St. Sahak. What obstinately held their ground were pagan customs, and their prevalence continued among the people, and more especially in the palace of the sovereigns and among the satraps. The patriarchs, at the risk of bringing on themselves the fury of the civil power, often had need to exert all their pastoral courage in battling against the abuses and the moral iniquities of such a society, not yet sufficiently enlightened by Christianity. It was on this account that St. Aristakes was assassinated by the satrap of Dzovk (Sophene); that St. Vertanes was obliged to escape from the pursuit of the mountaineers of Sim (Sassoun), who were stirred up by the queen; that St. Houssik died under the scourgings of king Tiran; and that St. Daniel of Aschtischat, who had been nominated to the patriarchate, came to a similar end. But these persecutions did in no way moderate the zeal of these saintly pontiffs.

Concerning the doctrine which was observed by the prelates of the early Church, there is nothing new to say. The whole Church in the fourth

century was united by the same dogmas. The East and the West were in complete fellowship in faith and in charity. The chief heresies which arose in the course of that century in the East, those of the Arians and the Macedonians, were condemned by the Councils of Nicaea (325) and of Constantinople (381), the decisions of which were strictly observed by the Armenians. St. Aristakes was himself present at the first Council; and if, in the second, the Armenians had no representatives, they, nevertheless, never ceased to abide by the letter and the spirit of its decisions.

The Armenian national liturgy, as we have said, had not yet been framed for want of an alphabet and of a literature adapted to its needs. The Bible and the rituals were read in the Greek and Syriac languages. But, as much as the people were ignorant of both languages, an oral translation was rendered to them in the church itself. A special order of translators *(Thargmanitch)* had to be included in the religious service, to orally interpret the passages of the holy scriptures which were read by the readers *(Verdzanogh)*. They explained the prayers of the ritual and instructed the people, in their mother tongue, in certain prayers based on the psalms and the offices. If we were to note the differences of phraseology between the construction of the psalms of the offices and of that in the text of the scriptures, we would find two translations: the former, dating from the fourth century, for the use of the people; the latter, a classical one of the fifth century, based on the Greek text.

CHAPTER VI

The Beginning of Armenian Literature

The absence of an alphabet and of any sort of written literature placed a fundamental obstacle, not only to the development of the intellectual and social life of the nation, but also to the existence and the autonomy of the Church, for without these she had neither the power to mould nor to strengthen her own constitution. No permanent means for spiritual edification were at the command of the people; for bare oral translations were insufficient to satisfy the aspirations of their hearts. Such was the state of things which first incited the attention of the patriarch St. Sahak. Deeply versed in Greek and Syriac learning, he was held, according to his contemporaries, to be in advance of the scholars of his time.

St. Mesrop-Maschtotz, a former secretary of the king, and a disciple of the patriarch Nerses, conceived the plan of extirpating the last remnants of paganism in the province of Golthn (Akoulis). But, in the absence of an alphabet, he was confronted with a difficulty, since he was unable to place in the hands of the people he would evangelise any written instructions. In conjunction with the patriarch Sahak, he besought the king Vramschapouh to put an end to this state of affairs. This happened in 401, at the dawn of the fifth century; and the king placed all available resources at their disposal. At length, in 404, Mesrop succeeded in compiling an alphabet which was excellently suited to the genius of the Armenian language. And as, in the furtherance of this work, he had invoked heavenly aid, he ascribed his success to divine grace. Indeed, the Armenians themselves have always taken a pride in their literature, the origin of which was regarded by them as supernatural. As soon as St. Mesrop invented the alphabet at Balahovit (Palou), St. Sahak, on his part, continued indefatigably to carry on a work which was alike literary and holy. Accordingly, it is on the latter that the grateful Armenians have bestowed the title of *Illuminator of Knowledge,* on account of what he did for literature, just as St. Grigor enriched their souls by faith, and St. Nerses their hearts by the inculcation of high morality.

The Armenian alphabet contained thirty-six characters, which were capable of representing all the sounds of the language. This number had to be increased later by two supplementary letters, which brought the total up to thirty-eight. Its ingenuity was so happily devised that it was even possible, without difficulty, to represent by the alphabet most of the sounds of foreign languages. But in this place we must confine our remarks to the importance of this innovation from the ecclesiastical standpoint.

The first work which was taken in hand was the translation of the Bible, and to this purpose were dedicated St. Sahak and St. Mesrop, together with a body of scholars selected from among the class of *Translators.* History places their number at one hundred, of whom sixty had been trained by Sahak and the rest by Mesrop. The Armenian translation of the Old Testament was made from the Greek text of the Septuagint, but with many different readings in accordance with the Syriac translation. This work was begun in 404 and brought to an end in 433, after a final revision by St. Sahak, by comparison with a copy which was expressly sent by the patriarch of Constantinople. When this was accomplished, they employed themselves in the preparation of the books of the liturgy, such as the Mass, the rituals of baptism, of confirmation, of ordination, of marriage, of the consecration of churches, and of funerals, the offices of the day, and the calendar. St. Sahak contributed to this work, either directly, or indirectly with the help of his disciples. This organisation of the liturgy was inspired by that of St. Basil, that is to say, by the liturgy of the church of Caesarea. It will be admitted that nothing would be more natural than to imagine that the heads of the Armenian Church, as we have indicated above, should derive their teaching from the schools of Cappadocia.

But, while following closely the liturgy of Caesarea, there was no attempt at keeping to a slavish exactitude. St. Grigor had already borrowed liberally from national customs and from pagan rites, which he had adapted into Christian rites. In the course of a century these practices had had time to become so deeply rooted as established customs, that it was impossible for new organisers to escape their influence. Moreover, they declined to comply wholly with the requirements of the Greek rite. What is peculiarly the property of the Armenian liturgy are its hymns *(scharakan),* which are indeed of an original character, and which ring as an echo of the old national

songs. They are analogous, too, in some respects with the Syriac hymns of St. Ephraim.

The distinctive character of this primitive literature lies in the large number of translations of the works of the Greek Fathers. It is interesting to notice in particular that certain of these works, the originals of which have been lost, have been preserved in these translations. Besides the translations from the Fathers, most of the philosophical works of antiquity have also been thus preserved. Of original works there were but a few, such as books of ancient and contemporaneous history.

CHAPTER VII

The Armenian Church in the Fifth Century

The patriarchate of St. Sahak took up entirely the early third part of this century. Apart from the literary success, which has been previously noticed, this period has no distinguishing events worthy of mention, so that we are compelled to recognise the direct intervention of Providence in this particular success. It is this alone which gave the nation strength to battle against certain ruin, by bestowing on her the elements of a higher and independent existence at a time when both social and political circumstances were conspiring against her. The country of Armenia had been divided between the Greeks and the Persians, when, in 387, at the desire of Khosrov (Chosroes), king of Persian Armenia, St. Sahak was elected to the patriarchate; and at this time Arschak reigned in Greek Armenia. St. Sahak was obliged to act with judgment in order to be recognised and approved by both sides at the same time. A short time afterwards Greek Armenia was handed over to the administration of Byzantine governors; and Persian Armenia, after the relatively pacific reign of Vramschapouh, came under the rule, at first, of the Persian, Schapouh, and then of the Armenian, Artasches, who was young and of an unbridled temper. The Armenian satraps brought an accusation against their king before the Persian sovereign, and begged for his removal and the appointment of a Persian governor-general in his place. There was no difficulty in granting this petition, and the Persian satrap Vehmihrschapouh was at once nominated as governor-general of Persian Armenia (428). The Armenian satraps, by employing all manner of means, both by promises and threats, endeavoured to urge St. Sahak to unite with them in coming to an understanding; but, being unable to attain their end, they accused the patriarch of plotting with the king against the Persian sovereign. As a result of this manoeuvre, St. Sahak was deposed and exiled into Persia, and an anti-patriarch was nominated in the person of Sourmak (428).

This change led to great disturbance in the affairs of Armenia. The administration of the patriarchal see came into the hands of anti-patriarchs, who diverted to their own use the revenues and the endowments of their

office. They followed each other in quick succession: Sourmak (428), Birkischo (429), Schimuel (432), then Sourmak once more regained authority in 437. Through this period the bishops, the clergy, and the people refused to countenance the new state of affairs; for, in the eyes of the nation, St. Sahak always remained their spiritual head. When he returned to Armenia (432), he withdrew to Blour (Yahnitepe), in the province of Bagrevand (Alaschkert), where St. Mesrop and St. Ghevond had attended to religious and spiritual matters; at no time had his flock been forsaken by him.

In spite of such a critical situation, he did not cease to take an active part in the affairs of the Universal Church. The Council of Ephesus (431) had been summoned to condemn the heresy of Nestorius. The decrees relating to the matter had been brought to St. Sahak from Constantinople by his disciples. But the books of Theodore of Mopsueste, the precursor of Nestorius, had escaped the attention of the Council. Likewise the Nestorians took advantage of this omission to cover up their errors in the name of Theodore. St. Sahak, intervening, summoned the Council of Aschtischat (435), and then criticised the errors of Theodore in a dogmatic letter which he wrote to Proclus at Constantinople. This letter served as the grounds for the Council of Constantinople in 553, in order to condemn the Three-Chapters.

The death of St. Sahak (439) was the prelude to a position which was even more painful. Sourmak still occupied the patriarchal see as the head, recognised by the government, while St. Mesrop was continuing to administer spiritual matters; but it was not long after that he followed St. Sahak to the grave (440). St. Hovsep (Joseph) of Hoghotzim was called as his successor in the management of spiritual affairs, and the intervention of the Armenian Vassak Suni, governor-general, was successful, at the death of Sourmak (444), in causing him to be recognised as patriarch by the Persian government.

The king-of-kings, who had annexed Armenia to his dominions, was besought by the priests of the Zoroastrian religion to abolish Christianity in Armenia, by compelling the people to adopt the worship of the sun and of fire. To gain his ends, the king set about, in the first place, to strip Armenia of her military forces, which he diverted for the purpose of waging war

against the barbarians of the Caucasus. Having done this, he published (449) a decree by which he made the religion of Zoroaster obligatory upon all his subjects Without distinction. This was the beginning of an era of persecutions, in the course of which St. Atom Gnouni and St. Manadjihr Rischtouni with their followers suffered martyrdom. The episcopate, called together at Artaschat (450), proclaimed, in an apologetic letter, their inalienable fidelity to the faith. Notwithstanding this unanimous resistance, the chief of the Armenian satraps, to the number of ten, were summoned to Persia and compelled to renounce their religion. They were given the alternatives of either yielding or of quitting their country under instant exile. They made a pretence of abjuring their religion so as to be able to return to their homes and there organise resistance.

The priests of the religion of the sun and of fire, carrying their symbols, escorted in triumph the pretended renegades, but they were dispersed in the plains of Bagrevand by the armed populace, who were led by the arch-priest St. Ghevond. The interval of a year—from August, 450, to August, 451—the term which had been granted for renouncing Christianity, had been turned to account by preparing resistance to the troops, who were about to arrive in order to watch over the fulfilment of the royal decree. It is probable that if the Armenians had, in these circumstances, joined their forces, they would have been able with ease to get the better of the enemy's army. Unfortunately a party of satraps, having come to an understanding with the governor Vassak, was definitely given over to the Persian cause. When, on the 26th of May, 451, at the battle of Avarair, sixty-six thousand Armenians, under the command of Vardan Mamikonian, encountered an army of two hundred and twenty thousand Persians, a large number of Armenians reinforced the enemy's ranks. Vardan and eight other generals, as well as one thousand and twenty-seven men, fell on the field of battle. The death of these martyrs is commemorated in the Armenian calendar on Shrove-Thursday.

Reckoning from this time, the Armenian Church entered upon an era of disorder which was caused, above all, by the external difficulties with which she was wholly engrossed. The patriarch, St. Hovsep, accused of having been instigator of the religious movement, was arrested, taken to Persia, and martyred with other members of the clergy (454), whose memories are celebrated under the name of SS. Ghevondian (Leontii). His

successors were Melitus (452-456) and Movses (456-461); then came the celebrated Gut of Araheze (461-478), who was able to hold his own against the incessant efforts of the Persians to force their religion upon the nation. Once again the Armenians were obliged to take up arms under the leadership of Vahan Mamikonian, a nephew of St. Vardan. Hostilities were continued under the patriarch Hovhannes Mandakouni (478-490), who was the successor of Gut. This state of affairs threatened to be perpetual, when the new king Valarse, realising the uselessness of these efforts, at last put an end to them. He wisely proclaimed religious liberty, and nominated Vahan, first as military commandant (484), then as governor-general of Armenia (485), a step which ensured the civil and religious peace of Armenia. The venerable patriarch Hovhannes hastened to transfer his see to the new capital, Douine, where it could be under the protection of government, and from that place he was able to devote all his attention to the internal reforms both of the Church and of the people. Thanks to the wisdom of his administration, he knew well how to repair the accumulated ruin caused by the wars of these latter years, and his name remains the most honoured after that of St. Sahak.

CHAPTER VIII

The Council of Chalcedon

The zeal displayed by the archimandrite Eutyches of Byzantium, in combating the errors of Nestorius, had an effect quite contrary to that which its author had anticipated. His intervention gave rise to interminable controversies regarding the union of the two natures, or the double nature of Christ, and stirred up strife between the sees of Constantinople, Alexandria, and Rome. The school of Antioch, which was followed in this matter by the see of Constantinople, professed a teaching which maintained a certain separation between the divinity and the humanity of Jesus Christ whereas the Alexandrine school affirmed a close union between the two natures, fearing that the mystery of the redemption would be prejudiced. In the third Oecumenical Council of Ephesus (431) the Alexandrine doctrine had triumphed, and the formula of St. Cyril of Alexandria, who recognised *one nature united in the Incarnate Word,* had become the emblem of Christianity. Nestorius, a disciple of the school of Antioch, proclaimed patriarch of Constantinople, who taught the existence of a purely moral unity between the two natures, had been condemned by the decision of the Council. The archimandrite Eutyches, an old septuagenarian, set forth (447) a teaching which carried the union so far as to make it a blend and a confusion of the two natures, involving the almost entire disappearance of the human nature, and the giving of a heavenly origin to the body of Christ.

It is on this teaching that Flavian of Constantinople condemned Eutyches and his doctrine in a special synod which was called at Constantinople (448). Dioscurus of Alexandria imagined that this decision meant the rejection of the doctrine of his school and of that of his predecessor and a return to Nestorianism. He accordingly assembled a new synod at Ephesus (449), where he succeeded in causing Flavian and the Nestorians to be condemned. In his turn, Leo I of Rome, taking up the defence of Flavian, called together a special synod in Rome (450) against Eutyches and Dioscurus. Afterwards, in order to give greater weight to his decision, he induced the emperor Marcian to summon a general Council at

Chalcedon, where, thanks to coercive measures, he caused his doctrine and his letter to Flavian, called the *Tome of Leo* (451), to be accepted as decisive.

The bitterness that existed between the two parties is better understood if one considers that it was not only a theological problem such as the abstract question as to the two natures in Jesus Christ, but rather a pre-eminently concrete interest, which was to be safeguarded, namely, the influence of the patriarchates. At the period of the Council of Nicaea, the Graeco-Roman world was divided between the three sees of Rome, Alexandria, and Antioch, and each acted within the sphere of its own jurisdiction, without claims to precedence. But a change in this condition came about at the beginning of the fifth century. Constantinople became converted into a patriarchate by the Council which assembled in that city (381), and the ever-increasing decadence of Ancient Rome, and the growing influence of the New Rome, caused the patriarchs of Constantinople to imagine that they were superiors over the others. But the patriarch of Alexandria could not tolerate these ambitious designs. Imbued with the importance of the role he had played in the previous Councils, and still more of the brilliant qualities of his predecessors in office, such as Alexander, Athanasius, Theophilus, Cyril, and Dioscurus, he thought himself justified in assuming the right to prescribe Christian doctrine and to assert himself as arbiter in matters of dogmatic truth. He maintained that the triumphs of Athanasius at Nicaea and of Cyril at Ephesus could not be impaired by the claims of Flavian and of Leo, whose proceedings were almost an insult directed against the see of Alexandria. Constantinople and Rome then combined to do battle against the common foe; and the worldly arm of Marcian was raised to sanction the so-called success of Chalcedon against the see of Alexandria.

But, in fact, the success was neither real nor substantial. The Council of Chalcedon, among others, had recognised the precedence of the see of Constantinople, but Rome refused her recognition under the apprehension of some subtle attack being made on her in her turn; and she laid down a distinction between canons of the same Council that were admissible and those that were inadmissible. The episcopate of the Graeco-Roman world was divided into two camps, and their flocks indulged in violent manifestations; the scandal of having encouraged Nestorianism gained ground, and the subtle distinction which was laid down between the duality

of persons and the duality of natures did not suffice to calm men's minds. The decrees of Chalcedon thus remained in abeyance; they were not accepted by all. At a new Council held at Antioch (476) the doctrine was declared doubtful, and the emperor Basiliscus forbade support being given to the decrees. The emperor Zeno issued the Henoticon (482), wherein he denied it all authority, basing his opinion on the Council of Ephesus of 431. Finally, the emperor Anastasius, by a new decree (491), impaired the importance of the Council of Chalcedon by depriving it of all authority. The object of all these measures was to combat Nestorianism, which, while relinquishing its hold on the Greek world, was finding shelter among the Syrian element, and was prospering under the liberty which was allowed to it by the king of Persia.

Armenia was not concerned with these quarrels until the beginning of the sixth century. The Councils which were summoned for and against Eutyches took place without her knowledge; that of Chalcedon, which met on October 8th, 451, was not convened until after the great battle of Avarair (May 26th, 451). As we have said in a previous chapter, the country, at that time, was in great confusion; the patriarch and the bishops were either in prison or in exile; the satraps were persecuted or dispersed, the militia were disbanded, and the people terrorised. Under these circumstances, it can be well imagined that wranglings about dogmas failed to rouse the country's attention. Melitus and Movses, who succeeded St. Hovsep, were scarcely in a position to attend to such matters. The patriarchs Gut and Hovhannes, though renowned for their learning and their abilities, again became the victims of religious persecutions. And when, later, quiet was restored, Hovhannes had scarcely the necessary time at his disposal to collect his thoughts and to put in order the affairs of his own jurisdiction. It is, therefore, no matter of surprise if the Council of Chalcedon, forty years after its assembly, had as yet stirred up no lively interest in Armenia.

The first rumours of it came from the direction of Persia, when Babken of Othmous was patriarch (490-515). The Nestorians had established themselves in Persian Mesopotamia. As the Syrians, who had remained faithful to the orthodox doctrine of the Council of Ephesus, suffered much under their domination, they begged for proper guidance from the Armenian Church. The Armenians had remained scrupulously faithful to the anti-Nestorian principles of St. Sahak, and could not acquiesce in any

compromise regarding doctrine. The Nestorians, who prided themselves on the authority of the Council of Chalcedon, which had been convened by the Church of Constantinople, were hostile to the Church of Alexandria; whereas the Armenians had remained attached to the latter from the beginning. Further, this Council was the handiwork of Marcian, who had rebuffed the Armenian deputation, which had come to ask his aid against the Persian persecution. Beyond this, the Council of Marcian had been disavowed by his successors; and by the decrees of Basiliscus, of Zeno, and of Anastasius the Chalcedonian profession of faith had been officially set aside. Under these circumstances we can readily conjecture what would be the attitude of the Armenians. The synod of Armenian, Georgian, and Caspio-Albanian bishops, which assembled at Douine (506) under the presidency of Babken, officially proclaimed the profession of faith of the Council of Ephesus, and rejected everything that was Nestorian or savoured of Nestorianism, including the acts of the Council of Chalcedon. Far, indeed, from adopting the doctrine of Eutyches, his name, together with those of Arius, of Macedon, and of Nestorius, was officially condemned. Such was the first declaration of the Armenian Church with regard to the Council of Chalcedon. Later, the Greek and Latin Churches revoked their opposition and recognised it as the fourth Oecumenic Council. The Armenian Church would have nothing to do with this transaction, which was prompted by designs which had no bearing on theology. She remained firm in her original resolve, and ever maintained an attitude of ultra-conservatism. She set herself to resist every new dogmatic utterance said to emanate from revelation, as well as every innovation which could in any way pervert the primitive faith. She could not be unconscious of the fact that the chief moving power of the Chalcedonian question was the mutual jealousy of the patriarchates of the Graeco-Roman world, a question which could have no concern for her. Neither did she mean to submit to the whim of the patriarchate of Constantinople, which had applied itself at Chalcedon towards the usurpation both of precedence and of superiority over other sees, by strengthening the basis of her plans through the instrumentality of secular power.

The profession of faith which was decreed at Douine (506) was the chief event of the patriarchate of Babken. The self-same principle was jealously guarded by his successors: Samuel of Ardzke (516-526), Mousche of

Ailaberk (526-534), Sahak II of Ouhki (534-539), Kristapor of Tiraritch (539-545), and Ghevond of Erast (545-548). Beyond these facts there was nothing of special significance to notice during this period of about forty years. The decision that had been arrived at concerning the Council of Chalcedon was confirmed under the patriarchate of Nerses II of Bagrevand (548-557), at the synod of Douine (554), at which the faith, as decreed at Ephesus, was emphatically proclaimed in opposition to Nestorian errors and Chalcedonian claims.

CHAPTER IX

A Succession of Quarrels

The history of the Armenian Church presents a series of religious questions which, however, did not disturb her normal condition, though they recurred continuously through the course of many centuries. We have not the least desire to enter into the details of these quarrels, which are not likely to interest readers who are not of her flock. It will suffice to say that their cause lay in the political influence of the states which held sway over Armenia, or of those which were in close contact with her. This country, having lost her independence, passed successively under Persian, Greek, and Saracen domination, whose political tendencies drew their inspiration from the religious profession of their country. The Armenians could hardly escape the influence of such tactics. On the one hand, not wishing to depart from their dogmatic principles which had been established by decree of the synod of 506, and, on the other hand, by trying to preserve the sympathies and advantages which would accrue to them through the political influence of the dominant states, they pursued the policy of not offending the *amour propre* of any, and of showing proofs of compliance, without placing themselves in opposition to their own principles.

Armenia was often divided between different states, but her fate lay in the power of the one which possessed the larger portion of the country. The Persian rule, which was in the hands of satraps nominated by the king-of-kings, played a preponderant role in the country for a period of two complete centuries (428-633). After this period the *curopalates,* who were nominated by the Byzantine emperors, took the place of the satraps. The Greek domination was of but short duration, lasting about sixty years (633-693); for the Saracens firmly established their power very soon in the country. The representatives of the caliphs exercised a direct administration in Armenia, which lasted more than a century and a half (693-862). But this was by no means a period of entirely easy conquest. The rivalries and wars which brought to loggerheads the different states, always had this country for their battle-ground. The Armenians, having to grapple with opposing influences, were swayed by a wavering policy, but they were

anxious neither to compromise their political interests nor those of their faith. The influence of the Greek empire, which was always preponderant in the matter of religion, even when it had not the civil power behind it, used pressure on the Armenians to accept the Chalcedonian faith; and, in order to induce them to renounce their attitude in that matter, promises towards an amelioration of their political condition were showered on them. The Persians and the Saracens dazzled their eyes with analogous promises, on condition that they would estrange themselves from the Greeks. The Armenians were neither allowed nor were they willing to accede to the suggestions of the Greeks that they should accept the profession of the Chalcedonian faith; on the other hand, they had no desire to rouse Greek enmity to a higher pitch; and yet on stronger grounds they shrank from throwing themselves into the hands of non-Christian powers. Such a position of difficulty and such a spirit of indecision were the special characteristics in the history of the Armenian Church from the sixth to the ninth centuries, a period which we will endeavour briefly to sketch by recalling its most salient features.

The relations with the Christians of Persia, the first evidences of which we have noticed at the time of Babken, are characterised by their constant appeals to the Armenian patriarchate. They employed these means to protect themselves against the encroachments of the Nestorians, who, by reason of their anti-Greek spirit, had been able to win over the Persian court. The patriarch Kristapor of Tiraritch, among others, not only contented himself by defending the anti-Nestorian before the Persian king-of-kings, but he consecrated their bishops and gave his full attention to the administration of their Church.

The history of the second Council of Constantinople, which the Greeks and the Latins regard as the fifth Oecumenic Council, is well known. The excitement occasioned by the Council of Chalcedon was not yet allayed at the period when Justinian mounted the throne (527). As his efforts to restore peace remained ineffectual, he attempted to bring under condemnation the Three-Chapters, that is to say, the writings of Diodorus of Tarsus, of Theodore of Mopsueste, and of Ibas of Edessa, which were devoted to the views of Nestorius, but opposed to the decrees enacted at Ephesus; this was also a step in keeping with the Chalcedonian profession. Justinian thought he would, in this way, give satisfaction to the orthodox

followers of the Ephesian doctrine and restrain at the same time the tendencies of the Chalcedonian party. The decree for the assembly of the new Council was published (546), but the popes of Rome continued to raise difficulties, fearing lest the indirect condemnation of the *Tome of Leo* should impair their prestige. The pope Agapet, who was summoned to Constantinople, died there before a solution was reached. Vigilius, who was nominated by the emperor under the condition that he proclaimed the condemnation of the Three-Chapters, was not recognised by the Romans, who put up Silverus in opposition to him; but the death of the latter put an end to opposition, and Vigilius was recognised. The Council finally opened (553), and it was with his concurrence that the Three-Chapters were condemned. Thus the Graeco-Roman world, by indirect means, put an end to the Chalcedonian question, thereby emphasising the idea of the unity of the two natures in Christ, which was defined at the Council of Ephesus.

The Armenians, who remained faithful to that Council, in spite of the shufflings of the Chalcedonians, did not feel the need of new definitions; they also refused to attach any importance to the decrees of the Chalcedonians, even though these were not only in conformity with their own principles, but were founded on the authority of the patriarch St. Sahak, whose letter to Proclus was solemnly read at the Council, immediately after the perusal of the decretal epistles of St. Cyril of Alexandria. The patriarch Nerses II of Bagrevand contented himself, at the synod of Douine which assembled in the following year (554), by proclaiming the Ephesian doctrines in opposition to the Chalcedonian claims.

The instigations of the Greeks, though powerless against Armenian opinion, received a favourable reception among the Georgians. Their patriarch, Kurion, though trained and raised to office under the Armenian patriarchate, conceived the idea of seceding from that see, and of rallying to the patriarchate of Constantinople in order to win the imperial favour. Adhesion to the decrees of Chalcedon was the condition of such a submission. The efforts of Vertanes, who was directing the Armenian patriarchate after the death of the patriarch Movses II of Eghivart (574-604), and those of the new patriarch Abraham of Aghbatank (607-615), were powerless to prevent the secession, and the Georgian Church, with Kurion at her head, definitely accepted the Chalcedonian faith, and became part of

the Greek Church. The synod of Douine (609) ratified this secession from the orthodox Armenian Church; but this event was destined, in course of time, to have unpleasant consequences for the Georgian Church. For, under the Russian domination in the Caucasus, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, her national existence had no longer any *raison d'etre,* in face of the common identity of principles, which thus gave justification for the absorption of the Georgian Church by the Russian. To-day everything in Georgia is Russianised: hierarchy and clergy, liturgy and language; the exarch himself and the bishops of Georgia are recruited from among the Russian clergy.

We must not pass by in silence the last attempt made by the Greeks to gain the Armenians over to their cause. As a portion of Armenia had fallen under Byzantine domination, Constantinople hastened to instal therein a patriarch devoted to her own interests (590), and during the lifetime of Movses II. This was Hovhannes of Bagaran. But this new attempt proved futile; for the anti-patriarchal see came to an end with Hovhannes himself, who fell into the hands of the Persians (611). The Greeks judged it unnecessary to appoint a successor to him; they were even less encouraged to do so, as the Armenians, who themselves lived under Greek domination, refused recognition to the usurping patriarch, as well as to the profession of the Chalcedonian faith which he represented.

CHAPTER X

A Return to the Quarrels

In 614 Persia had invaded the Greek empire and had carried away from Jerusalem the relic of the Holy Cross; in fact, the Persian army had even encamped under the very walls of Constantinople.

It was only later that the emperor Heraclius, awakening out of his lethargy, engaged in a struggle which was crowned with success (623); and the vanquished Persians were obliged to restore the precious relic to the Holy City. The Armenian troops, led by Megege Gnouni, were largely responsible for the success of the campaign. It was at the close of these auspicious events that Heraclius conceived the plan of effecting the union of the Greeks and the Armenians in their dogmatic faith. To attain this end, he tried to impose on the latter the decrees of Chalcedon which the Greek Church had recognised after the condemnation of the Three-Chapters. Engrossed with this project, he went a second time to Armenia to open negotiations. The patriarchal see was at that time occupied by Yezr (Esdras) of Parajenakert, who was the successor of Abraham of Aghbatank, of Comitas of Aghtzik (615-628), and of Kristapor II Apahouni (628-630).

The vacillations of Yezr and of his bishops, and the conferences between the Greeks and Armenians, terminated by the acceptance of a formula of faith which was imposed by the emperor. That formula was entirely in keeping with the profession of faith of the Armenians, excepting that it passed over in silence the Council of Chalcedon. It was approved at a special synod, held at Karine (Erzeroum), and was solemnly dedicated by the celebration of a Mass (632), at which the Greeks and Armenians communicated together. Meanwhile the submission of the patriarch to the will of the emperor had incensed the Armenian episcopate and people. Intense rancour vented its fury against Yezr; but, do what they might, they were unable to compass his deposition. However, the sentiment of indignation, which his conduct excited, has survived through the ages to such an extent that his name still figures on the list of patriarchs with the initial inverted. Yet, for justice' sake, it must be added that Yezr could hardly

have been more Chalcedonian in his tendencies than Heraclius, who was the defender of the monothelite doctrine and protector of the patriarch Sergius, the author of that doctrine. Monothelitism was a revival, under a different guise, of the Monophysite doctrine of the Council of Ephesus, which the Armenians had upheld with great tenacity. It being impossible to return to the question of the Council of Chalcedon, assent to which had been accorded by the Council of Chalcedon, the monothelites endeavoured to divert its effects, either by the condemnation of the Three-Chapters, or by upholding the union of the wills in Christ in place of the union of the natures.

We will pause for a moment to note the zeal displayed in the course of his administration by the patriarch, Nerses III of Ischkhan, surnamed *Schinogh* (the Builder). This old soldier had mounted the patriarchal throne when the Saracens were first beginning to enter on their invasion (641). Armenia, in her perplexity, knew not whether to declare for her former rulers or for the new invaders. Nerses himself was in favour of Greek rule, but, besides that the Greeks were feeble and inactive, the military commanders of the nation, Sembat Bagratouni and Theodore Rischtouni, found themselves compelled to make submission to the Saracens. The emperor Constantine IV was eager to wreak his vengeance on the Armenians for their default, and, at the head of his army, he attempted once more to make them submit to his religious authority. The patriarch Nerses III succeeded in pacifying the emperor; but after the withdrawal of the Greeks a new synod, convened at Douine (645), emphatically proclaimed the resolve to subscribe only to the first three Councils, and to reject all that had been afterwards added to them. But the political question brought the patriarch Nerses and the great satrap Theodore, who was always on the stronger side, into opposition. The patriarch, therefore, kept out of public affairs until the death of Theodore, which took place six years later. Then only did Nerses begin again to coquet with the Greek influences, but always in a feeble and vacillating manner.

This condition of affairs continued after the death of Nerses (661), who was succeeded by Anastasius of Akori (661-667), Israel of Othmous (667-677), and Sahak III of Tzorapor (677-703). During the patriarchate of the latter, Saracen rule was definitively established in Armenia, and thereby the Graeco-Armenian disputes lost their importance. Moreover, the caliphs had

an interest in seeing the Armenians regulate their own religious affairs in a spirit which was opposed to Greek ideas. The patriarch Sahak III had undertaken a journey to Damascus to pay a visit to the caliph, when he died on the road. Nevertheless, his attempt was not without its result, for the caliph granted the greater part of the religious privileges for which he was on his way to sue.

The most salient feature of the patriarchate of his successor, Eghia (Elias) of Ardjesch (703-717), was the zeal he displayed to retain Caspian Albania in the communion of the Armenian Church. Their patriarch, Nerses Bakour, tempted by the example of Kurion, inclined to the side of communion with the Greek Church. He was immediately removed and replaced by Simeon. Eghia also gave proofs of his strength against some Armenian theologians, educated in the schools of Constantinople, who attempted to defend the decrees of Chalcedon.

The patriarch Hovhannes III of Otzoun, surnamed *Imastasser* (the Philosopher), a cultured mind, who was scholar and diplomat in one, was the most prominent figure of the period. His writings against the heresies, his disciplinary and liturgical reforms, give evidences of a profound erudition. He is the author of a collection of ecclesiastical canons and of canonical letters which form a code of canon-law. It should be noticed that these are of anterior date to the pseudo-Isidorian decretals of the Roman Church. His relations with the caliphs, the privileges, such as the concessions which he obtained from them for the benefit of the Church and of the nation, do honour to his administrative qualities. In connection with his religious duties, he succeeded in deciding the great question of the corruptibility of the body of Christ, which had been raised by the orthodox Monophysites. It had given birth to the sects of the Julianists and of the Severians, and caused a split between the Syrian and Armenian Churches. The synod of Manazkert, convened (726) under the presidency of Hovhannes, and composed of Armenian and Syrian bishops, adopted ten canons whereby they endeavoured to eliminate the exaggerations of the two sects. The sound doctrine concerning the origin and the natural character of the body of Christ was approved at this Council, which placed on a solid basis the veneration due to the body of the Word Incarnate, as neither subject to sin nor destined to decay. Hovhannes ended his days in honour (728), and his memory has been hallowed by the Armenian Church.

There is little to be said about the period (728-755) which followed, during which twelve patriarchs succeeded each other under the peaceful conditions created for the Armenian Church by the caliphs. It need merely be mentioned that since these caliphs had endowed Armenia with vassal principalities (862), and the Armenians had begun to enjoy administrative autonomy, the patriarch Photius of Constantinople attempted once again to establish relations with the Armenian Church. He sought in this reconciliation a basis which would prove of some use to him in his quarrels with the Roman Church. Hence, he wrote letters to the patriarch Zakaria of Tzak (855-878), and to prince Aschot Bagratouni, inviting them to accept the decrees of Chalcedon; but the decisive answers he received from the patriarch left him no loophole in the controversy, and so the attempt of Photius led to no result.

CHAPTER XI

Peregrinations of Patriarchs

The Armenian patriarchate has never derived its designation from any fixed place of residence; it has always been called "The Patriarchate of All the Armenians" *(Amenain Haiotz).* On the strength of this title it has always been able to set itself up in that central spot in the nation where happened at the time to be the political pivot of authority in the land. Etchmiadzin, the original residence, contemporaneous with the proclamation of Christianity as the official religion, remained identical with the capital, Vagharschapat, only till the beginning of the fourth century. After the disappearance of the kingdom, and the turmoils which followed that event, an Armenian satrap, and, at the same time, the patriarch Hovhannes I, Mandakouni (484), were installed quietly at Douine. There, at the foot of Mount Ararat, not far from Etchmiadzin, the patriarchs took up their abode until the time of Hovhannes V of Draskhonakert (899-931).

The political concessions granted by the caliphs to the Armenians were found to be far from beneficial to the nation. For, under their sanction, principalities increased in number, and their chiefs usurped the title of kings of Ani, of Van, of Kars, of Gougark; a proceeding which gave rise to all kinds of disorders and rivalries. Furthermore, the creation of so many principalities in nowise precluded the permanent presence among them of Saracen high commissioners, who collected the tribute and kept an eye over the administration of these kings, over whom they exercised the power of life and death. It is needless to enter into a detailed account of the grievous consequences which resulted from so abnormal a position.

The town of Douine, which was the residence of the Bagratidae kings before they transferred their seat to Ani, remained the patriarchal see until it was invaded and sacked by the commissioner Youssouf. The patriarch Hovhannes V, who had gone under a truce to negotiate with him, was detained as a hostage. When, on payment of a ransom, he obtained his liberty, he had for a long time to wander about the country without being able to get back to his seat, which in fact no longer existed, for the town had

been completely sacked and destroyed. It was only towards the end of his patriarchate that he decided to set up his headquarters at Van. He resided at first at the monastery of Tzorovank (Salnapat), situated near that town; afterwards he followed the king to the island of Aghthamar, which thus became the patriarchal seat. It was here that this patriarch, who was surnamed *Patmaban* (the Historian), ended his days (931), after having, for thirty-two years, been a witness to a series of most troublous events.

Three of his successors, Stepanos II (931-932), Theodoros I (932-938), and Yeghische I (938-943), resided at Aghthamar, near the kings of Van. But Anania of Moks (943-967) found it more convenient to leave the solitude of the island, and to establish himself in the heart of the country, under the protection of the kings of Ani. He settled provisionally in the little town of Arkina, near to Ani, until a palace and a cathedral church were subsequently built in the capital itself (992). Anania left his mark on the religious and political affairs of the country, and by his intelligent administration assisted in securing to the Church a period of relative calm. Vahan Suni, who succeeded him (967-969), came under suspicion of attempting to adopt various Greek ceremonies and of showing a predilection for Chalcedonian principles. The Armenian episcopate, roused by his action, called together a synod at Ani, deposed Vahan, and appointed in his stead Stepanos III of Sevan (969-971). Stepanos was supported by the king of Ani, while the king of Van took the side of Vahan, and the dispute brought about disorders which convulsed the country, until the deaths both of Stepanos and of Vahan. Khatchik I Arscharouni (971-992), a man of ability and action, was elected by common consent. He succeeded not only in restoring peace between the various Armenian principalities, but he successfully safeguarded his co-religionists of the Byzantine provinces, who were being incited to enter the pale of the Greek Church. It was Khatchik who first consecrated Armenian bishops for those of his co-religionists who dwelt in Greek dioceses. Until then there had been, in accordance with ancient custom, only one bishop in each diocese. It dates, in fact, from this period that bishops, following the rites and the professions of faith of individual Churches, began to increase in number. Khatchik, after the cathedral church and the patriarchal palace at Arkina had been built, undertook the construction of a new residence at Ani, but he did not live to enjoy it. It was inaugurated by his successor, Sarkis I of Sevan (992-1019); but it was not

long inhabited, as his successor, Petros I Guetadartz (1019-1054), abandoned it in consequence of the capture of Ani by the Greeks (1046).

The most striking event which happened under the rule of these two patriarchs was the action taken against the sect of Thondracians, a species of Paulicians, who were hostile to all outward form of worship, and were characterised by extreme fanaticism and audacity. Hacob, bishop of Hark, took their side, and undertook to govern the Church according to the principles of the sect, without, however, openly coming to a rupture with the orthodox profession. Hacob was twice summoned to appear before an episcopal synod, and was able to clear himself. But positive proofs of his doings happened to come to light, and he was condemned and degraded by the patriarch Sarkis. At Kaschi a crowd associated with this sect had destroyed the great cross of the village of Khatchguhe. The authors of this sacrilege were sought out, arrested, and punished with special severity; bodily punishments were resorted to, which are, in truth, not a common practice in the Armenian Church. But, in circumstances such as these, it was considered advisable to follow the example of the Greeks, who had made a special point of meting out the utmost severity against the Paulicians, whose daring actions had, indeed, degenerated into crimes against the welfare of the community.

The capture of Ani and the dispersion of the Bagratidae dynasty are connected with the memory of the patriarch Petros. The latter, a nephew of the patriarch Khatchik, had been nominated in the lifetime of Sarkis, who had voluntarily abdicated (1019). He died a short time after (1022). The king Gaguik of Ani, who died in 1020, was succeeded by his eldest son Hovhannes-Sembat, who, weak-minded and sluggish, conceived the idea of strengthening his rule by negotiating with the emperor Basil II for the surrender of his kingdom after his death. The patriarch Petros himself proceeded to Trebizond (1022) to ratify this agreement with the emperor. On his return he settled at Sebaste (1023), where Senekerim, who had taken in exchange from the Greeks the province of Sebaste for his own territory of Van, was at that time reigning. From this town he went over to Tzorovank in Van (1029). On his return to Ani (1036) he was deposed by the king and superseded by Dioskoros of Sanahine; but the opposition of both clergy and people combined to drive Dioskoros out in the following year (1037), and Petros regained possession of his see, which he retained for some ten years

longer. The king Hovhannes-Sembat died (1042) without leaving direct issue, and the succession fell to Gaguik, son of his brother Aschot, a child of fifteen; but an attempt was made to deprive him of his rights. Petros was cognisant of the agreement of Trebizond, the treaty concerning which was held by the emperor Michel IV, the Paphlagonian. West-Sarkis, the chief minister of the deceased king, sought to turn the succession to his own advantage; Vahram Pahlavouni, who was in command of the army, was on the side of right and of national independence. The Greeks, the Tartars, and the king of Gougark disputed among themselves for the possession of Ani. Vahram succeeded time after time in repelling the assaults of the enemies, and so for many years he resisted their forces and the intrigues of Petros and of Sarkis; but in the end he was compelled to yield, and the town capitulated to the Greeks (1046). The patriarch was at first the object of all manner of attention and of honours at the hands of the Greeks, who took him afterwards to Constantinople, where he remained for three years. He was finally sent to Sebaste, where he ended his days (1054), in the exercise of his official functions, though his nephew Khatchik was associated with him in the capacity of coadjutor. The latter administered the patriarchate during the absences of Petros, and succeeded him at his death.

Khatchik II of Ani was also summoned to Constantinople, where he was subjected to all manner of ordeals, not only to make him reveal the treasures of Petros, but also to convert him to the profession of faith of the Greek Church. But his steadfastness could not be shaken in spite of the sufferings he endured. At the end of three years (1054-1057) he was banished to Thavblour, near Tarantia (Darende) in Asia Minor, where he remained till he died (1060).

CHAPTER XII

The Patriarchal Seat in Cilicia

The Greeks, being masters of the country, endeavoured to prevent the election of a new patriarch, with the object of facilitating the submission of the Armenians to an acknowledgment of the Greek Church. But the futility of their manoeuvres, the complaints called forth by their conduct, and the attitude of Gaguik, king of Kars, who had exchanged his kingdom for the district of Amasia, finally induced the emperor Constantine Ducas to sanction (1065) the nomination of Grigor-Vahram, son of Grigor the Maguistrus, governor-general in the imperial service. The son had also filled the same office. A condition attached to this nomination was that the new patriarch, Grigor II *Vikaiasser* (the Martyrophile), should not have his seat in Armenia. He was obliged, in consequence, to take up his residence at Zamintia, in the new state of king Gaguik of Kars.

His patriarchate extended over forty years (1065-1105). He was endowed with both learning and ability, but his administration was not marked by any conspicuous act, by reason, no doubt, of the dislike which he invariably showed for his office. It might, indeed, be held that he only accepted it in order to put an end to the vacancy in the patriarchal see, and not for the purpose of performing its duties.

He divided his attention between literary studies and pilgrimages to Palestine and Egypt, handing over all the cares of administration to vicars, whom he associated with himself as coadjutors, and on whom he conferred full powers. Among the latter, Guevorg III (George) of Lori (1069-1072), who was found incompetent for his duties, was deposed; but Barsegh I (Basil) of Ani, a nephew of Grigor II, proved an active and wise delegate, taking upon himself all the responsibilities and power of the office (1085), until the death of his uncle, whom he succeeded without opposition (1105). The patriarchal residence during this period was supposed to be fixed at Zamintia, near Amasia, but the stay of the patriarch and of his coadjutors there was only provisional. Barsegh resided sometimes at Ani, sometimes in

Cilicia and Comagene, where the Armenians had begun to emigrate, in their flight from the incursions of the Tartars.

The monastery of Schoughr, the centre of monastic life, which had begun to blossom in the mountains of Seav-Ler (Amanus), was chosen as the usual place of residence, because it was situated in the territory of the Armenian principality of Cilicia. This principality had been founded by Rouben, a descendant of the kings of Ani, and by his son Constantine (1095-1110). This prince was succeeded by Thoros, who was powerfully supported by Barsegh in his endeavour to invest his principality with a political structure and a much wider sphere of action. Barsegh died accidentally from the effects of a fall from a roof (1113). He was succeeded by the young Grigor III. Pahlavouni, who was but twenty years of age; but his candidature had been recommended by Grigor II, because of the brilliant evidences of capacity he had shown.

The inactive administration of Grigor II had led to anti-patriarchs being proclaimed in the persons of Sarkis of Honi, Theodoros Alakhossik, and Poghos of Varak. They were, nevertheless, compelled to give way before the activity of Barsegh I. The youth of Grigor III served the archbishop David Thornikian of Aghthamar with the pretext to get himself proclaimed patriarch. Since the see had been transferred from Aghthamar to Arkina, under Anania of Moks, the archbishops of Aghthamar had set up exceptional claims, which, however, it had become customary to tolerate. David Thornikian, who was gifted with a superabundance of energy, sought to substantiate these pretensions, and, taking advantage of the youth of Grigor III and declaring his enthronement illegal, he usurped the supreme power (1114). A special assembly, composed of two thousand five hundred ecclesiastics, and assisted by the Cilician princes, condemned David; but, in spite of this decision, the anti-patriarchs of Aghthamar have retained their see up to the present day, through reconciliation with the mother Church.

The patriarchal seat, till then so uncertain as to its locality, happened to be still at Seav-Ler, when Grigor III assumed power (1113). Twelve years later he settled at the castle of Dzovk (Dulouk), which belonged to his family, and where he resided for twenty-two years (1125-1147). But, being anxious to obtain a more suitable residence, he succeeded in acquiring the castle of Rhomkla (Roumkale), which was made over to him at a price by

the son of count Josselin, the lord of Germanicia (Marache). For a century and a half (1147-1293), and up to the time of the capture of the castle by the Egyptians, the Armenian patriarchs made this their place of residence. Afterwards they settled at Sis, the capital of the kingdom of Cilicia, which remained the seat of the see for yet another century and a half (1293-1441). Then the patriarchal seat reverted once more to Etchmiadzin. The entire duration of the peregrinations, commencing with the departure from Douine until the return to the original see, covered a period of 540 years (901-1441).

CHAPTER XIII

Attempts Towards Union

The persistent tendencies towards unity on the part of the Armenian Church, and her apparently paradoxical conduct, might with good reason create a feeling of surprise, if we did not bear in mind her essentially tolerant spirit. This Church has in all good faith always welcomed every proposition which has been made in the direction of unity; she has, on the other hand, never departed from her attitude of independence. The Churches with which she might have come into agreement were the Greek, the Syrian, and the Latin. The Greek Church, which was the most powerful and the most extensive, occupied incontestably a position of superiority, which was due partly to the prestige in which Hellenism was held in the ancient world, and above all on account of the political power of the Empire of the East. At all times her aim has been to exert a dominant role over the Armenian Church. She has set to work to bring the latter under subjection; even to annex her, if that had been within her power. What little mention has been already made about the successive disputes with regard to the Council of Chalcedon has been sufficient to enlighten the reader on this matter. The Armenians have never demurred to any overture; but at the same time they have never definitively given their adherence to any positive proposal.

The Syrian Church occupied a weaker position, and it was easy to keep in agreement with her. If, on the one hand, the Syrians were not in a position to advance exaggerated claims, on the other hand, the Armenians never pushed their requirements too far.

The Latin Church, on account of her remoteness, came first into touch with the Armenian Church at the time of the Crusades.

The Armenian Church has always understood the meaning of union in the true and strict sense of the term. She has desired to see its establishment on the basis of a spiritual communion between the Churches, of mutual respect for their several positions, of liberty for each within the limits of her own sphere, and of the spirit of Christian charity overruling all. She has never tolerated that union should take the guise of domination, nor be

mistaken for proselytism. Unfortunately, the Greek and Latin Churches, on the strength of their political and social status, have always been disposed to imagine that it was only possible to realise the union of the Churches by bringing them under thraldom. To be more precise in our remarks, we would add that the spirit of domination holds the first place among the Latins, and that of proselytism among the Greeks. The Armenian has never rejected overtures which either the one or the other has made, though too often he has been disappointed in his hopes. Without being disheartened, he has repeated his endeavours at reconciliation, even while he has despaired of looking for good results.

We are unable to gainsay those who would see interested motives in this attitude of the Armenians, rather than the expression of a Christian spirit. An examination of their political and social position, which has never been either strong or independent, would be sufficient justification for their interested point of view. Confined within inland provinces, at the mercy of inroads from the east and from the west, from south and north, weak as far as numbers are concerned, destitute of material and intellectual resources, they have always sought protection at the hands of other Christian communions. But, while having the desire for union, they have never resigned themselves to yield to the religious domination of others, nor to submit to their proselytising tendencies. This is the reason that they have remained aloof, and in a state of detachment within their own tradition. In the principles of union they could see the welfare of their interests, both social and civil, but for these they have had no desire to sacrifice their religious and Christian standpoint.

These efforts towards union have no novelty about them. They have been punctiliously maintained towards the Greeks, without any practical result being brought about; and the Armenian Church has stood firm in her independent attitude, even despite the fact that her vassal dynasties have disappeared one after the other under the blows of Tartar invaders.

It was due to this circumstance that the Armenians seized the opportunity of emigrating *en masse;* and that has been the main cause of the ruin of the Armenian fatherland. One party, taking the northern route, crossed the Caucasus and the Euxine, and went to settle in Georgia, the Crimea, Poland, Moldavia, Wallachia, and Hungary. We must not follow

their footsteps. Another party took the southern route, and settled successively in Comagene, in Cicilia, in Syria, and in Caramania, where they succeeded in founding, first a principality, and then an Armenian kingdom, which finally transformed those countries into a small Armenia. It is well known that nothing but the force of circumstances induced the Armenians, when driven by the invasions from the east, to turn their eyes towards the Christian forces of the west. Documents prove a series of uninterrupted negotiations and overtures towards unity which were conducted, both with the Greeks and the Latins, during the entire period of the Roubenian dynasty in Cilicia (1080-1375). Those who choose to see in these negotiations with the Latins a complete adherence to Roman Catholicism must not forget that negotiations towards unity were at the same time being carried on with the Greeks, and that, since the days of Photius, these latter had broken away from the Latins. The Armenians, therefore, could not have indulged in two negotiations, if they had given their adherence to one of the two Churches, and were also, at the same time, maintaining a position of independence.

The earliest attempts towards union began in the time of Grigor II, who, in the course of his journeys, undertaken with the object of investigating the deeds of the martyrs, tried to bring about an understanding with the Churches of Constantinople, of Alexandria, and of Jerusalem. It has, indeed, been stated in good part that for the sake of a single document he made a journey to Rome with this end in view, but it has been ascertained that this statement is due to an obvious confusion between *Rome* and *Roum*—the city of the *Romans* and the city of the *Romeens.* However this may be, nothing was officially decided during the patriarchate of Grigor II, in spite of the very intimate terms on which he stood with the Greeks. He succeeded only in bringing to an end the reign of oppression which had been inaugurated by the emperors during the patriarchates of Petros I and of Kahtchik II.

During the reign of Levon I (1123-1137), Greeks and Armenians came to blows, in consequence of some Greek towns being occupied by Levon. The hostilities resulted in the Armenian prince being taken into captivity, and in the occupation of the country, which lasted until Thoros II, the son of Levon, ascended the throne in succession to his father (1144).

After these hostilities, intercourse between the principality of Cilicia and the Latin principalities was brought about by the Crusades. The patriarch Grigor III and his brother, the bishop Nerses, were invited to the Latin Council of Antioch (1141), which was assembled to consider the case of the bishop Rudolph, being presided over by cardinal Alberic, the papal legate. The latter invited the patriarch Grigor III to accompany him to the Holy Places, where he even gave him a place of honour in the Council of Jerusalem (1143). It was under these circumstances that the legate urged on him to sanction his union with the Roman Church. But he was clever enough to decline adroitly the proposition, declaring that the two Churches were not separated by any essentials.

It was not deemed opportune to carry the discussion further, for the Armenians and the Latins mutually counted on each other's support. The pope Lucius II (1143-1144) hastened to send gifts of an ecclesiastical character to Grigor III. The latter, not wishing to be outrivalled in generosity, sent a delegation to meet the pope Eugene III at Viterbo (1145-1153). Under such circumstances, the dispute broke out afresh in connection with the doctrinal and ceremonial differences between the two Churches. Eugene III wrote on the subject to Grigor III, calling upon him to comply with the practices of the Roman Church. It was thus that the first phase in the negotiations with the Latins was put an end to.

The bishop Nerses, surnamed *Schinorhali* (the Gracious), brother of the patriarch, had just returned from the castle of Lambron, whither he had gone to put an end to the enmity which set the princes Thoros and Oschin at variance, when, as he was passing through Mopsueste, he took it into his head to pay a visit to prince Alexis, the imperial governor of Grecian Asia (1165). The question of the union of the Churches was there thoroughly discussed and gone into by both bishop and prince, who were equally deeply conversant with religious matters. Nerses prepared an apologetic statement on the doctrine and the rites of the Armenian Church, which the prince gladly undertook to present personally to the emperor Manuel I Comnene (1143-1180). Grigor III had quitted office, having abdicated in favour of his brother (April, 1166), but before long death overtook him (July, 1166); and it was then that Nerses IV Schinorhali, being in possession of the see, published his famous *Indanrakan* (Encyclical), the text of which even to this day stands as an authority in ecclesiastical questions.

The answer to the statement which had been entrusted to prince Alexis was delivered to Nerses, who was now patriarch, although it had been addressed to Grigor III (1167). Manuel, still ignorant of the abdication and the death of Grigor, asked that Nerses should be sent to Constantinople to enter upon the negotiations. The latter, being unable to leave his office, proposed to go and see the emperor, as he passed through Asia at the head of the expedition which he had got ready against the Tartars. He proposed also that the emperor should bring with him the Latin delegates, who had been sent from Rome to Constantinople; and as the Syrian patriarch was also present at Rhomkla, it would be possible, in a plenary Council, to establish union between the four Churches, and so put an end to the disagreements which had existed for seven centuries. "For," said Nerses, "if there are certain points which the Armenians should rectify at the instance of the Greeks, there are also other points which the Greeks, in their turn, should remodel at the suggestion of the Armenians." At the same time he sent a second dogmatic statement to the emperor, wherein he confirmed as patriarch all that he had written as bishop.

Manuel Comnene, who was prevented from proceeding to Asia on account of the disorders which supervened in Thessaly, directed the archimandrites Theorianus, a Greek, and Ohan Outman, an Armenian, to repair to the patriarch Nerses (1170), in order to induce him to accept the terms of the Greeks. The work known under the title of "Disputations between Theorianus and Nerses," written by Theorianus after his return to Constantinople, puts into the mouth of Nerses expressions which absolutely contradict the indisputable documents which have come down to us; and this is a proof that Theorianus was anxious to hide his failure. Two years later (1172) the emperor Manuel again resumed the negotiations and proposed nine points for the acceptance of the Armenians. Nerses summoned for this purpose a general synod, but he died on August 16th, 1173 before it assembled. His nephew and successor, Grigor IV Tegha, sent an answer to the emperor (1175), that it was impossible for him to accept the nine points he had proposed.

The emperor Manuel then brought down his proposal to two points, those concerning the Council of Chalcedon, and the two natures in Christ (1177). Grigor IV called together the bishops and the divines of the inland provinces to deliberate over the matter; but they, in the first place, refused

to take the Greek proposals into consideration. The solicitations of the patriarch and of his cousin, Nerses of Lambron, archbishop of Tarsus, had the effect of causing the assembly of a synod at Rhomkla, which, far from adhering to the Greek proposals, propounded certain forms of compromise. But before the synodal letter was despatched to Constantinople, Manuel died (1180). Moreover, the internal disorders of the empire prevented the continuance of negotiations. Thus the attempt at union with the Greeks came to an end with the life of Manuel. Isaac Angel (1185) abandoned the negotiations, and inaugurated a system of oppression against those Armenians who were settled within the empire.

CHAPTER XIV

Leanings Towards Unity

The political aim of the Armenians was clearly to be seen in all these attempts at reconciliation. Scarcely had they realised the futility of negotiating with the Greeks, when the East was profoundly impressed by the Crusades, which brought to the front the figure of the emperor Frederic Barbarossa, and this induced them at once to go over to the side of the Latins. The motive for this abrupt change was to be found in their desire to secure assistance, both political and military, with a view to converting their principality into a kingdom. This was essentially the objective in the mind of prince Levon II (1185); and the promoters of this policy were the patriarch Grigor IV and the bishop Nerses of Lambron, who were pliant to the bidding of the prince. But the episcopate and the clergy of the inland provinces, known under the name of "the band of Eastern Divines" who had welcomed with satisfaction the failure of the synod of Rhomkla, were loud in their protestations against the efforts in favour of the Latins which were being made in Cilicia.

Grigor IV died without anything decisive being done. The bishops Grigor Apirat and Nerses of Lambron, probable candidates for the succession, were suspected of Western sympathies, and were consequently disliked by the Eastern Divines. The prince Levon, too, felt he might gain over the sympathies of the latter if he brought about the election of Grigor V Karavege, a young bishop, twenty-two years of age. But the jealousy of the candidates, who were passed over, gave rise to false accusations against the young patriarch, who was deposed and confined in the castle of Kopitar. He was found dead near the place of his confinement (1194); and it was never discovered if his end was due to a pure accident, or was the result of a crime.

Nevertheless, the desire for union dominated the situation. Between the out-and-out opposition of the Easterns and the inclinations of the Cilicians, prince Levon sought a neutral ground for harmony, being anxious neither to lose the royal crown which had been promised him by the Latins; nor the

support of the Easterns, on which he counted with a view to the extension of his power over the interior provinces of Armenia. The nomination of Grigor VI Apirat to the patriarchal see was not recognised by the Easterns, who proclaimed Barsegh II of Ani. Furthermore, they demanded that he should be recognised by the Cilicians, and that Nerses of Lambron should be deprived of participating in the affairs of the patriarchate (1195). Levon apparently consented only to this latter condition. The split lasted until the death of Barsegh (1206).

Moreover, the closer intercourse between the Armenians and Latins awakened the distrust of the Greeks, and the emperor Alexis Angel seized the opportunity to renew the persecutions of the Armenians. The impetuous Nerses of Lambron was sent to Constantinople (1196) to try to bring about a fresh reconciliation, but his mission was a failure, and, being disappointed in his expectations, his zeal in favour of unity considerably abated.

Then the negotiations with the Latins were ostensibly resumed. The emperors of the East and of the West had agreed to bestow the royal crown on Levon (1197); but the investiture, which had to be conferred by the pope, was allowed to drag on for two years, a period which was employed in discussing the details and the forms of union. The pope's legate proved to be so grasping in his demands, that the Armenian episcopate refused to submit to them. Levon, who was swayed only by solicitude for his own interests, proposed that his own personal adherence, which he considered sufficient, should be accepted; but the legate particularly demanded that of the episcopate. Levon succeeded in producing, if not their unanimous adherence, at any rate that of a committee, of twelve bishops, which appeared to satisfy the legate (1198). The coronation took place on January 6th, 1199; the legate placed the crown on the king's head, and the patriarch applied the unction; not long after, the patriarch died at the age of eighty-two. Once the coronation had taken place, Levon, who had shown himself to be such a zealous partisan of the Latins, appeared to set no value on the conditions in general which had been agreed upon for the purpose of bringing about the union.

During the patriarchate of Hovhannes VI Medzabaro (1203-1221), Levon went so far as to thwart the instructions of the legate, and even to drive the Latin monks out of Cilicia. The patriarch, who was equally

unfavourable to foreigners, took no account of the agreement of 1198. Individual secessions broke out a short time after the proclamation of the anti-patriarchs, but the almost contemporaneous deaths of Barsegh of Ani, of Anania of Sebaste, and of David of Arkakahin (1206), put an end to them. The Easterns on their side rallied round Hovhannes, thanks to the intervention of Zakaria Orbelian, the representative of the king of Georgia, and the patriarch was able to end his days in peace (1221).

The long patriarchate of Constantine I of Bartzrberd (1221-1267) was favourable to Latin influence in Cilicia. The surpassing power which the Latins had acquired, owing, on the one hand, to the expeditions of the emperor Frederic II (1228) and to those of king St. Louis IX (1248), and, on the other, to the tendency shown by the Armenians to avail themselves of the political and social advantages, which were the concomitants of the superior advancement of Western peoples, had a favourable effect on the decisions of the government. It was at this time that Italian colonies multiplied in Cilicia; and at the same time many Armenian colonies were founded in Italy. The relations which were established between the two nations gave a wider scope to the closeness of their connection. The king Levon having died without male issue (1219), his daughter Zabel was crowned queen at the age of sixteen. Her first marriage with Philippe, the count of Antioch (1222), proved unhappy. She married for the second time Hetoum (Aiton), son of the regent Constantine, prince of Korikos. When he was proclaimed king (1226), Hetoum turned out to be in perfect sympathy with the tendencies of the age, so much so that the patriarch and the king may be considered as the chief promoters of a closer tie between the Armenians and the Latins, as much from the political as from the ecclesiastical standpoint. But it must be said to their credit that they sacrificed none of their dignity to the furtherance of this ideal of unity. It may be added, in passing, that the same measure of praise cannot be accorded to their successors. It is an important point to note that Constantine and Hetoum, while maintaining good relations with the Latins, continued negotiating with the Greeks, through the intermediary of the bishop Hacob, surnamed *Guitnakan* (the Savant).

Hacob (1267-1286) and Constantine II Pronagortz (1286-1289), who came in succession after Constantine I, had the support of king Levon III (1270-1289), and did their best to protect their independence from the

Latins, who lived in their very midst. But king Hetoum II (1289-1305), on the other hand, inaugurated a most subservient policy. He caused Constantine II, who resisted him, to be deposed; and brought in as his successor a simple anchorite, Stepanos IV of Rhomkla, who fell into the hands of the Egyptians at the capture of Rhomkla (1293). Hetoum II and the Latinophiles succeeded finally in raising to the patriarchal see Grigor VII of Anavarza, who was a zealous partisan of their opinions.

The new patriarch began by specifying the alterations, outlined according to the formulas of the Roman Church, which he intended to introduce into the Armenian Church. He was beginning to carry his undertakings through, when disturbances in the interior put a stop to them. After order was again established, he summoned a synod at Sis, in order to obtain approval there to his plans; but he died before the meeting of this synod (1307). The king succeeded in getting Constantine III of Caesarea nominated as patriarch, and made him adopt the syllabus of Grigor VII, which, although it was drawn up in a common dialect and was ill-suited to the learning of the deceased prelate, passed muster as being his handiwork.

Reckoning from this period until the transference of the see from Sis to Etchmiadzin (1441), the desire towards union is found to become more and more pronounced. To the Latinophile kings of the family of Korikos succeeded the Latin and Roman Catholic kings of the family of the Lusignans. Meanwhile the political situation in the interior, being at the mercy of disturbing elements, was extremely critical. The Armeno-Latin understanding had excited the suspicion of the Tartars, the Turks, and the Egyptians; and while the Armenians still reckoned on the protection of the Christian powers, Europe, exhausted and enfeebled, was losing ground in Asia. Religious questions had always been allied with political issues as a condition indispensable to success; but even then, when a desired solution had been achieved, it was not found possible, in very truth, to produce the effect which was expected from it. The patriarchs succeeded each other, inspired sometimes by Latinophile proclivities, sometimes by nationalist longings; at any rate they were powerless to contend against the Roman Catholic kings of the family of the Lusignans. The Armenian Church, however, succeeded in keeping herself definitively free from Roman Catholic principles. She maintained her administrative independence and her doctrinal individuality, although she was unable to prevent laxity of

discipline and of good order. Fifteen patriarchs followed in succession at Sis, from Grigor VII to Grigor IX, during the period of a century and a half (1294-1441); and it must be confessed, if we take into account the course of events which we have just related, that Sis was scarcely an auspicious seat for the patriarchate.

CHAPTER XV

The Return to Etchmiadzin

During the first half of the fifteenth century the Armenian Church was labouring under the stress of the greatest disorder. The kingdom of Cilicia had finally disappeared (1375); Sis, together with king Levon VI, had fallen into the hands of the Egyptians; only a few Armenian chiefs, on the Amanus and in the passes of the Taurus, still held out. In order to estimate how much of her strength and of her splendour the patriarchal see had lost, it is sufficient to remark that the last six patriarchs (1377-1432) had only gained the pontificate through the assassination of their predecessors and through recourse to bribery. In order to recoup themselves for the outlay, they did not shrink from resorting to extortions of all kinds. They set little value on purity of doctrine, and were ready to submit to any compromise whereby profit might be gained. The Roman Catholic propaganda was successfully carried on in Cilicia, owing to the zeal of the Latin missionaries of the Franciscan Order. At the same time the Dominicans set to work to convert Great Armenia, where they founded a special Latino-Armenian Brotherhood, "Unitor," under the patronage of the bishop Barthelemy of Bologna. The Armenian colony, which was at that time established in the Crimea under the rule of the Genoese, entered, through the interference of the latter, into direct relations with Rome. They even sent to the Council of Florence (1439) a delegation charged with instructions to negotiate a union. The see of Aghthamar, which had severed her connection in 1114, had been reconciled to the mother Church under the patriarchate of Hacob III of Sis (1409), through the intermediary of the great divine, St. Grigor of Tathev, who had wisely set himself to the task of terminating this split. The patriarchs of Aghthamar, faced with the decay of the see of Sis, and anxious to uphold the purity of doctrine and tradition of their Church, resolved to respond to the overtures. It must be added that their intention was also to enhance the prestige of their see. The theological institute of Sunik, which had for centuries enjoyed a justly merited reputation, had in these latter years acquired a fresh addition of vitality under the direction of the holy divines, Hovhannes of Orotn († 1388), Maghakia of Khrim († 1384), and

Grigor of Tathev († 1410). A considerable number of their disciples, who deplored the lamentable state of their Church, had resolved to remedy it. Such were the undercurrents and motives which induced the nation to resort to radical measures. As, at last, it began to dawn upon the people that it was neither sensible nor useful to keep up the patriarchal residence at a distance from its original site, they contemplated its re-establishment at Etchmiadzin, because of the relatively better security this town enjoyed under Persian domination. Grigor IX Moussabeguian, who, in reality, occupied the patriarchal see, when called upon to effect this transfer, at first refused, and then gave his acquiescence; and a general synod of seven hundred members, composed of bishops, archimandrites, doctors of divinity, archpriests, princes, and dignitaries, assembled at Etchmiadzin (May, 1441), and accorded their approval to this decision. Then, to put a stop to all possible conflict between the various candidates, Kirakos of Virap, an ecclesiastic of the most saintly character and one who had taken no part in the previous agitations, was elected in place of Grigor IX, who had retired. This choice, therefore, put an end to the rivalries of Zakaria, patriarch of Aghthamar, of Zakaria of Havoutztar, head of the Sunik institute, and of Grigor Djelalbeguian, archbishop of Ardaze, who found themselves passed over by this election.

A happier era for the Church appeared to be manifesting itself. All at once, there seemed to be no further need for attempts at union, and the see of Aghthamar definitely gave in her adherence; capable men appeared at the head of the movement for restoration, and the strength of their combined energy was of good augury. Unfortunately, passion and prejudice began to endanger the whole situation, allowing individual interest to take the place of the general good; and so the Church was unable to realise her ideal of peace. The patriarch Kirakos, being unable to dominate the situation, abdicated at the end of two years (1443); and was succeeded by Grigor X Djelalbeguian. Zakaria of Aghthamar, who caused himself to be proclaimed supreme patriarch after the resignation of Kirakos, overthrew Grigor and took possession of Etchmiadzin (1461), but he scarcely maintained his position for a year. Grigor X resumed power, and those who had assisted him to reinstate himself in the see were raised to the honours of the patriarchate as coadjutors, with full titles and full powers. It was thus that Aristakes II Athorakal and Sarkis II Atchatar were called to that office.

Dating from this period, and during the next two centuries, there prevailed at Etchmiadzin the system of admitting coadjutors to the patriarchal see, who possessed the titles and prerogatives of patriarch; and the object of this policy was to gratify the ambitions of certain bishops and to win over the sympathy of the factions. The one beneficial consequence which was the outcome of such a procedure was the simplicity which it introduced in the order of succession by the immediate enthronement of the senior coadjutor. For, in consequence of the then disturbed state of the country and the dispersion of the Armenians, the summoning of the electoral synods had become increasingly difficult.

Since the early centuries, the possession of the relic of the Right Arm *(Atch)* of St. Grigor Lusavoritch had been considered to be the appanage of the patriarchal dignity; it was with the "Holy Atch" that consecrations were performed, as well as that of the holy chrism. This relic had accompanied the patriarchs throughout their long wanderings, consequently the transference of the see from Sis to Etchmiadzin should have been confirmed by the presence of this relic. Zakaria of Aghthamar, in order to justify his claims, had seized it and carried it off with him when he was driven out of Etchmiadzin (1462). The relic remained at Aghthamar, whence it was again carried off and conveyed to Etchmiadzin by the bishop Vertanes of Odzop (1477), who obtained possession of it under peculiar circumstances. The disorders at Etchmiadzin and the abstraction of the "Holy Atch" incited bishop Karapet of Tokat, with a view to the restoration of the see of Sis, to make a boast of the pretended possession of a holy Atch (1447). The foundation of the patriarchal see (catholicosate) of Sis dates from that time; it has continued without interruption to the present day, though she has become reconciled to the mother Church.

The see of Etchmiadzin became a prey to external and internal troubles, which lasted until the election of Movses III of Tathev (1629). More than thirty dignitaries succeeded in turn to the title of patriarch or coadjutor, without so much as a single personality among them all arising who was capable of mastering the situation. The city of Etchmiadzin formed at that time a part of the Persian possessions, and the governors or khans of Erivan saw in these feuds but an opportunity for extorting money. They invariably ranged themselves on the side of the highest bidder, and when no bidder was found, they subjected the patriarchs to bodily tortures until the

necessary contributions were levied. It was not possible under such conditions to undertake any serious or regular work, and the period may be characterised as one of complete decline. Only one patriarch is worthy of mention, Mikael of Sebaste (1542-1564-1570), who knew how to curb the ambitions of the patriarchs both of Aghthamar and of Caspian Albania. The institution of Armenian printing is due to him. He sent Abgar of Tokat to Italy (1562) to make a study of the process; and he furnished him with letters of introduction to pope Pius IV to assist him in his task. The earliest publications made their appearance at Venice in 1565 under the superintendence of Abgar. There are, however, earlier existing publications which date back to 1512; but these are the work of European publishers and of Armenian traders. The initiative of the patriarch Mikael had the most happy results; from that time Armenian printing establishments sprang up at Venice, Rome, Constantinople, Etchmiadzin, Ispahan, and Amsterdam. The most important and the best among all the works was the illustrated edition of the Bible by the bishop Oskan, which was published at Amsterdam in 1666.

CHAPTER XVI

The Patriarchate of Constantinople

The creation of a special see at Constantinople took place at the same time as the transference of the supreme patriarchal see from Sis to Etchmiadzin. After the conquest of Constantinople by Mahomet II, he introduced radical measures for ensuring the submission of the Greeks. The Ottoman laws were entirely of a religious character, and individual and social rights drew their inspiration wholly from Islamic principles. The Musalman powers, when bringing under subjection Christian countries, found themselves faced with the alternatives, either of imposing their religion on the conquered peoples, or of granting them an administrative and social autonomy. Neither of these two methods could be applied to Constantinople, which happened to be proclaimed the capital of the new Musalman empire. It seemed necessary, therefore, that the conquering power should grant to the religious head of the Greeks those social and civil privileges which were strictly connected with their religion. Thus all matters concerning family life, such as marriage, public instruction, charities, worship and its ministers, spiritual administration, etc., were made over to the jurisdiction of the religious head. In this way the patriarch found himself invested with a kind of civil jurisdiction or imperial patriciate (1453).

After having thus settled the enactment of private rights for the Greeks, the conquering power felt it would be advisable to set, in opposition to them, another Christian element, which it deemed to be more attached to its own interests. The Turks accordingly caused the removal of a large Armenian colony to Constantinople, which was portioned off to the several quarters of the city in divergent directions, both inside the walls and in the neighbourhood of the principal gateways. At the same time, as an additional precaution, the Greeks were massed together in the central quarters, far removed from the towers and the ramparts. The Armenians had enjoyed the confidence of the Turks since the time of Osman I Ghazi; and the new colony was placed on the same footing as the Greek element. Bishop Hovakim, metropolitan of the Armenian colonies in Asia Minor, was translated from Broussa to Constantinople, where he was invested with the

titles and honours, as well as privileges, similar to those accorded to the Greek patriarch (1461).

It was in this manner that the two patriarchs, Greek and Armenian, became recognised as the heads of the two great orthodox Christian parties in the East; that division was established on the basis of a profession of faith, independently of any consideration of race or of nationality. All the orthodox dyophysites, viz. Greeks, Bulgarians, Servians, Albanians, Wallachians, Moldavians, Ruthenians, Croatians, Caramanians, Syrians, Melkites, and Arabs, became associated, under their respective chiefs, with the jurisdiction of the Greek patriarch; while the orthodox Monophysites, comprising the Armenians, Syrians, Chaldaeans, Copts, Georgians, and Abyssinians, became subject, under their respective chiefs, to the jurisdiction of the Armenian patriarch.

The Jews at that time enjoyed no legal status, and the Roman Catholics or Levantines were looked upon as foreigners; so that the native-born who embraced Roman Catholicism were not able to take advantage of their conversion so far as affected certain external religious acts, such as baptism, marriage, burial, etc. This state of affairs lasted uninterruptedly for centuries, and it was only towards the middle of the last century that it came to an end through the creation of a Catholic patriarchate (1830); this creation led to others, according to their dissimilarity of rites and professions of faith.

The Armenian patriarchs of Constantinople applied themselves, in the course of this same period, to centralise as far as possible the affairs of their people in the provinces of the interior. Their administrative sphere of action gradually extended itself over all the provinces of the empire, until it comprised the dioceses under the spiritual control of the patriarchates of Sis, of Aghthamar, and of Jerusalem. The history of this first epoch bears record only of conflicts between the sees and the dioceses, and these took place in an environment of political disorders and unceasing wars. But, in order not to encumber this historical sketch with narratives which can only make us deviate from our purpose, we must pass them by in silence.

CHAPTER XVII

A Period of Awakening

We have been over-scrupulous in describing the lamentable state into which the Armenian nation and its Church had fallen in the Middle Ages. But it must, in justice, be added that this Church was not responsible for her misfortunes; for, the sad state of her condition, both social and civil, should not be laid at her door, where some apologists of Romanism have ventured to place it. The decadence of the West in the Middle Ages, and the abuses which were committed there in the name of religion, do they not in themselves suffice to give the lie to their assertions?

Before passing a severe judgment on the Christians of the East, we should call to mind the ruin and desolation which were spread far and wide by the hordes coming from the east and the south, as well as the persecutions under which they never ceased to be victimised at the hands of the conquerors. We should consider too the intellectual darkness in which the rulers delighted to enshroud the conquered races; the total absence of any means, moral or material, whereby they could dispel such gloom; and, lastly, the enormous sacrifices to which they had to submit, in order to maintain even their material existence.

But, notwithstanding these circumstances, the signal for a renewed vitality must at least be placed to the credit of the Armenian nation, which was the first in the East to make successful efforts to escape from a position so difficult, which no social amelioration had the power of lessening; and despairingly she ever stretched out her hands towards any quarter where she seemed to see a glimmering of hope for her escape.

The Renaissance had hardly begun to cast its first rays over the West before the Armenians hastened to flock into Europe in their eagerness for intellectual regeneration. The mission from a remote corner of Asia, which was sent by the patriarch Mikael when the invention of Gutenberg was first heard of, furnishes a remarkable instance of their zeal. Unfortunately, at that moment the West was a prey to religious fanaticism, which placed it at the mercy of a most intolerant policy. It would do nothing for those who refused

to yield to the offers of Roman Catholicism. The indispensable condition for obtaining aid and protection was submission to the papacy, the supreme arbiter of the period. Could they who instituted the *auto-da-fe* be reasonably expected to bring succour to the Churches of the East? Can it be forgotten that the disciples of Francis d' Assisi, of Dominic Guzman, and of Ignatius Loyola applied their apostolic zeal towards the conversion of the ancient Christians of the East to the new Christianity of the West? Ceaselessly they laboured to force upon the custodians of the dogmas of the primitive Church the innovations of Latin scholasticism.

Under these difficult circumstances, the Armenians pursued a course of action which was at times conciliatory, and at times uncompromising: conciliatory whenever the required sacrifice did not exceed the limits of a wise tolerance; uncompromising when the demands went beyond the voice of prudence; conciliatory when they looked forward to some advantage; uncompromising when the gain had to be purchased at the price of too great a sacrifice. There were those, however, who did not hesitate to push the spirit of conciliation to its furthest limits, carried away, as they were, by the ardour of their progressive convictions; but others refused to surrender aught, even when it was but a seeming surrender. These facts must not be lost sight of if we have a mind rightly to account for the events which gave rise to the desire to take a share in that activity of intellect which was then taking place in the West.

Among those who devoted themselves to such activity we should mention among the foremost the patriarch Movses III of Tathev, who, even before his accession, had consecrated his life to the work of reform and reorganisation. It was to his zeal for restoration that the see of Etchmiadzin owes her recovery from a state of complete ruin. He procured from the Persian government a cessation of those exactions by which the Church was victimised, and even an exemption from taxes; and he successfully carried through a reform of ecclesiastical customs and doctrines. His elevation to the patriarchate was but the reward for services he had rendered, for his energy on the throne was of brief duration, three years only (1629-1632). Philippos (Philip) of Aghbak (1633-1655), who succeeded him, continued the work of reformation begun by his predecessor. He undertook a journey to Turkey, where he was powerfully instrumental in the settlement of the affairs of the patriarchates of Constantinople and of Jerusalem. He

assembled a synod in the latter town (1651), in order to put an end to the disputes which set Etchmiadzin and Sis at variance; and he accorded his approval to a communion between Sis and the mother Church, on the same lines as that which had been accorded previously in the case of the see of Aghthamar. Furthermore, he endeavoured to improve the material conditions of the patriarchal see, and for that purpose he undertook the irrigation of the country round Etchmiadzin by means of an ingenious system of canals.

Hacob IV of Djoulfa (1655-1680), who succeeded him, followed in the same path. But unfortunately serious complications, which broke out at Constantinople, engrossed his attention. Missionaries from Rome, under the direction of father Clement Galano, had come to win over to their cause a body of Armenians. One of the cleverest of their party, Thomas of Aleppo, even succeeded in taking possession of the patriarchate, but he did not hold it long; for he was at once driven away by the people. At the same time bishop Yeghiazar of Aintab, who had occupied successively the patriarchates of Constantinople and of Jerusalem, caused himself to be proclaimed supreme patriarch of Turkey, in opposition to Etchmiadzin. Hacob was obliged to go in person to Constantinople (1664), where he was fortunate enough to restore matters to some degree of order (1667). But a renewal of dissensions, and the attempts of bishop Nicol to force Roman Catholicism on the Armenians of Poland, made it necessary for him to go a second time to Constantinople (1679). He undertook this task notwithstanding his great age, but he was overcome by its hardships, and died at the age of eighty-two (1680). He was buried in the cemetery of Pera, where, to the present day, his grave is the object of veneration to the faithful.

The see remained vacant for two years, in consequence of the dissensions which were stirred up by Yeghiazar. It was only after this delay that the election took place, and then the choice actually fell on the latter. His pontificate, which lasted nine years (1682-1691), was productive of happy results. For, when once his ambition was satisfied, he was lacking neither in good intentions nor in ability, and all his efforts were in the right direction. He, too, from among the succession of supreme patriarchs of the Armenian Church, has bequeathed a memory which is justly held in honour.

CHAPTER XVIII

A Survey of the Eighteenth Century

The love of progress and of knowledge, which was fostered by the Armenians, who let no obstacle stand in the way of their indulging in it to the fullest, had the effect of assisting, in a marked manner, the efforts of the Roman missionaries towards the spreading of their faith.

A whole band of active partisans of Roman Catholicism had been established at Constantinople during the eighteenth century. They had allowed themselves to be won over by the missionaries from Pera, who were under the patronage and leadership of the representatives of the Most Christian kings. Although the new Catholics did not cease to be officially dependent on the Armenian patriarchate, they formed an active party, whose aim was nothing short of usurpation of the national administration. The earnest guardians of the Church, strong both in number and in their influence with the Turkish Council, and true to their traditions, employed every means to thwart these intrigues. As these neophytes maintained constant relations with foreigners, endeavour was made to cause the eyes of the government to view them with suspicion. Such were the origin and the meaning of the measures which were instigated by the patriarchate and imposed by the government against those Armenians who had become Catholics; these measures, which have been termed religious persecutions, were in reality but weapons of war. The neo-Catholics, on their part, did not hesitate to make use of similar methods against the patriarchate, which they accused of encouraging Muscovite aims.

Apart from Constantinople, Roman Catholicism obtained some measure of success at Mardin and Aleppo. The bishops Melcon Tasbasian and Abraham Ardzivian openly declared in its favour at these places. This defection soon brought on itself the coercive measures of the patriarchate. The Catholics, in their turn, took advantage of the influence of the French ambassadors to coerce the patriarchate. The fate of the patriarch Avedik of Tokat is well known; through the interference of the king's ambassador, he was first imprisoned at Seven-Towers (1703), and then, after being secretly

abducted from Tenedos, where he had been exiled, was taken to France (1710), where he was brought to trial and condemned by the Inquisition (1711). Special mention should also be made of the case of Mekhitar of Sebaste, an ecclesiastic of progressive and liberal views, who tried to take advantage of the Venetian supremacy in the Morea, in order to lay the foundation there of a monastic establishment for educational purposes (1712) under the auspices of Catholicism; but he was obliged to relinquish his purpose in consequence of the Venetians retiring from the country. Then he decided to settle in the small island of San-Lazaro at Venice (1717). Mekhitar had to yield to the demands of the Roman Curia in order to be able to devote himself without restraint to his work of intellectual culture; he wisely abstained from being a party to the work of proselytism. Such a line of conduct, which was in keeping with national interests, had become traditional among his congregation during the course of the eighteenth century; but later, other opinions took root in their midst. Nevertheless, it is a grateful task to pay homage to the Mekhitarists of Venice and of Vienna for the great services they have rendered to the nation by enriching so profusely the Armenian language and literature.

Another monastic institution, the Antonine society, was founded at the same period by Abraham Attar on Mount Lebanon in the Maronite country. While answering in every respect to the purpose which was kept in view in selecting a Latin country, the position of Lebanon afforded the further advantage that it maintained touch with the nation. The Armenians of the southern provinces of Turkey, whose minds were still impressed with the memory of the Cilician kingdom, were more inclined to lean towards Roman Catholicism. They were even bold enough, with the co-operation of two bishops and a few priests, to establish a Catholic patriarchal see in Cilicia. The first incumbent was the bishop Abraham Ardzivian (1740), who hastened to appear before pope Benoit XIV in the capacity of supreme patriarch of the Armenians. The pope, indeed, was aware of the value to be placed on his pretensions, but he did nothing to discourage them; for he saw therein an opportunity of realising his plans in the East. Accordingly he gave his sanction to the establishment of an Armeno-Catholic patriarchate which was officially subject to the Roman Curia (1742).

These Roman Catholic establishments, supported by the Roman Propaganda and actively patronised by the French government, were potent

instruments for the extension of Catholicism among the Armenians during the eighteenth century. However, it may be mentioned that the results which accrued were in no way commensurate either with the efforts made or with the means employed. The closer contact with European ideas, which was the direct cause of proselytism, did, in fact, contribute to the raising of the intellectual level of the nation, but we cannot help thinking that this result might have been brought about by other means; the natural evolution of progressive thought would have met the case. In proof of this, we have the initiative of Vardan of Baghesch, the superior of the monastery of Amlordi, who knew how to give a brisk impulse to the cause of public education in the provinces. His disciples, Hovhannes Kolot and Hacob Nalian, patriarchs of Constantinople, and Grigor Schikhtaiakir, patriarch of Jerusalem, were able to render conspicuous services without departing from their loyalty to the Church. It was due to their efforts that the eighteenth century gave tokens of a visible progress both in national life and in matters connected with the Church.

We have given in these later pages a preponderant place to the patriarchate of Constantinople. We feel justified in taking this course, from the fact that the events which bore on the history of the supreme patriarchate had already begun to lose their importance. From the day that a patriarchal see and a strong colony were established in the capital of Turkey, that city became the centre of the Armenian nation. The ten supreme patriarchs who succeeded Yeghiazar of Aintab, from Nahapet of Edessa (1691-1705) to Hacob V of Schamakhi (1759-1763), did not bring themselves to notice by any act worthy of mention; their sole distinction lay in their devotion to the welfare of the patriarchate. Simeon of Erivan (1763-1780), who succeeded them, is looked upon as the most noble personality of the age. His untiring energy was productive of much good work, such as an exact cadastral survey, whereby the landed interest of Etchmiadzin was brought under settlement, his demand for the restoration of the rights pertaining to the supreme see, the organisation of a college, the introduction of printing, and the erection of a paper mill. To him also is due the establishment of the first intercourse with the Russian empire, the institution of patriarchal archives, and lastly the revision of the liturgical calendar, which, in spite of some critics, has become general in the Church.

Ghoukas (Luke) of Karine, who followed him (1780-1799), was anxious to complete the work begun by Simeon. He formed a permanent council of six bishops to assist the patriarch, and to ensure regularity in ecclesiastical matters. After this he set to work to decorate the interior of the patriarchal cathedral.

Zakaria Pokouzian (1773-1799), who is the last in the line of patriarchs of Constantinople in this century, was a worthy rival to Simeon in his energy for reformation. What redounded most to his credit was his communication of a lively impulse to the education of the clergy. He devoted himself personally to their instruction, in order to train up capable disciples; then, when he had equipped them, he placed them at the head of scholastic work and in administrative offices. The college of Armache, which has given so many distinguished patriarchs and bishops to the Church, was founded by Bartholomeos Kapoutik and Poghos Karakotch, both disciples of Zakaria.

CHAPTER XIX

A Survey of the Nineteenth Century

Ghoukas and Zakaria both died in the same year (1799), and the nineteenth century opened with electoral struggles of an intense character, having for their object the filling up of the vacant sees of Etchmiadzin and of Constantinople. The great Revolution, which then convulsed the West, did not fail to have some influence on the temper of the Armenians. Hovsep Arghoutian, David Gorganian, and Daniel of Sourmari disputed over the see of Etchmiadzin, and each had his partisans. The first of these succeeded in securing election to the patriarchal throne, but died before he obtained possession of it. His rival, the next in order, attained to it and held it for a few years; but he was deposed, and succeeded by the third, Daniel of Sourmari (1804-1809). It was not till then that peace was restored to Etchmiadzin.

The heads of the Church at Constantinople followed with a rapidity of succession which was no less remarkable. Daniel of Sourmari, David Gorganian, Hovhannes Tchamaschirdjean, Grigor of Khamsi, and again Hovhannes, came in succession within the space of three years (1799-1802). The last-named alone managed to remain in power for any length of time (1802-1813); and he was wise enough to take advantage of this lull to restore some little order and regularity into the conduct of affairs.

The essential and characteristic feature of the nineteenth century is the intervention of the nation in matters affecting the Church, and the co-operation of national councils in her administration. The first experiment of introducing this system was made in order to settle in some measure the issue which had been raised by the partisans of Roman Catholicism. It was necessary to arrive at a compromise so as to avoid the split, which threatened to assume gigantic proportions, fostered as it was by the attitude of the French government in her anxiety to extend her influence in the East. To this end a commission was first formed, which was in agreement with the patriarchate (1810). Later on another took its place (1816), for the purpose of bringing about a conference between the theologians of the two dissentient confessions of faith. Three years were spent in controversy (1817-

1820), without any understanding being arrived at; the tendency being rather to accentuate their differences. While the desire on one side was towards separation, the other upheld to the uttermost the principle of union. At length, after the Russo-Turkish peace of 1829 and the intervention of the European powers, the Ottoman government, with a view to ending the disputes, determined to establish a community or autonomous nationality *(millet),* which went under the name of *Katolik* (Catholic). This community comprised all the partisans of Roman Catholicism who were Ottoman subjects, without distinction of race or of ritual (1830).

This solution had the effect of encouraging the Protestant powers to follow the same example; and the first missionary landed at Constantinople one year after the institution of the *Katolik* community (1831). From this moment proselytism increased considerably, being helped along by scholastic establishments and by pecuniary aids, which made it possible to buy men's consciences. The work was so well done that soon a new community or autonomous nationality *(millet)* came into existence under the name of *Protestan* (Protestant), including within its fold Protestants of every race and of every confession of faith (1847). These two separatist communities, though established on the exclusive basis of a profession of faith without distinction of race, ended by becoming Armenian. And we do not hesitate to confess that if these establishments led to an enfeeblement of the nation, they at any rate served in procuring for her certain advantages as regards her relations with the Western world.

During this same period Etchmiadzin was the seat of great political changes. As the Persian rule, carried on through khans who were almost autonomous, became more and more insupportable, the Armenians began to turn their eyes towards the czar of Russia. In the meantime they tried to escape their present persecution by emigrating *en masse* into Russian territory; but, as a more effectual remedy for the state of affairs, they craved the establishment of the czar's government in the Caucasus. As the archbishop Hovsep Arghoutian had been the instigator of this policy, Catherine II (1762-1796) and the emperor Paul (1796-1801) showered their favours on him, and the title of prince was bestowed on the members of his family. Since then Russian domination has made headway and her invasions have brought about the occupation of Erivan and Etchmiadzin, a consummation in which Armenian volunteers, under the command of

archbishop Nerses of Aschtarak (1828), bore their share. On this occasion the emperor Nicolas I (1825-1855) was lavish with his promises, even to the extent of dangling before their eyes the glittering hope of political autonomy. As a pledge of his good intentions, he even, for the time being, gave the name of *Armenia* to his new provinces. But it was no more than a mere political move planned with the object of making more easy his scheme of domination. When once the country was subdued, the czar's government attempted to bring the spiritual element also under subjection. Thus it was that the regulation *(pologenia)* which was specially enacted (1836) for the purpose of establishing connection with the patriarchal administration, opened very wide the door for the interference of the political authority. Any comments which the Armenians of Russia, Turkey, and of India might have made in this connection were in vain, and the *pologenia* has remained unmodified and in full force.

All this time the Armenian patriarchate of Constantinople was being administered under the unrestricted authority of the patriarchs. These, in their turn, were subject to the influence and superior control of the *amiras,* who were the leading men of the nation. It is true that these latter had no claim to distinction save that which their wealth conferred on them. But the misplacement of power inseparable from so anomalous a position, when it was coupled with progress of thought and the appearance of a new generation educated in France, led to the aspiration of all classes in the social scale to take their share in public affairs. From this time forward, councils came into existence in accordance with elective principles. At first a chief council was appointed solely for the management of finance (1841). Later another was established for purposes of general administration, consisting of fourteen ecclesiastics and twenty laymen (1847); and from the latter sprang, still later, an offshoot in the form of a special council of public instruction (1853). As the need was felt for regulations, in order to fix the spheres of action of these councils and to regularise their system of management, a constitution *(sahmanadrouthiun),* or Armenian statute, was finally worked into shape (1860). This important title-deed was subject to the sanction of the Ottoman government, but its approval was gained with some difficulty; for it was not till after three years of negotiations, and repeated popular demonstrations, that the Turkish Council resolved to give effect to the proposed procedure (1863).

These regulations, which may be regarded as the outcome of the intellectual progress which the masses had acquired, gave, in their turn, the motive power towards national development, thanks to that spontaneous evolution which is ever innate in the intellectual and social sphere, whereby action creates action, each in turn being the cause of new results. It is by virtue of this natural law that progress is disseminated among the communities of mankind. The nineteenth century has given tokens of a marked improvement in the social order, by the increase of schools and the growing number of students who have been taught in the European universities, by the spread of primary education, by the establishment, both in Turkey and in Russia, of commercial houses and of banks, and by the preferment of individuals of Armenian origin to the highest political and diplomatic offices in the countries of their adoption.

The close relationship which has always existed between the nation and her Church has been the cause of the latter, too, in her turn, gaining considerably through the emancipation of thought. A more systematic and a more active administration, a better instructed clergy, more suitable buildings, larger offerings, more solemn ritual, more edifying sermons, such have been the results of the work of progress during the course of this century. This uninterrupted growth of character has, of necessity, led the longings of the Armenians towards a more perfect ideal of social welfare, and has moved them to force on the ears of the civilised world their legitimate desire for a real participation in the blessings of modern civilisation.

While on this subject, we might take it a stage further and expand on the character of the Armenian element, specifying the qualifications which it has always exhibited by brilliant evidences in the various branches of human activity, and describing the role it has played in the countries and with the peoples among whom Armenians have taken up their abode. But, for the moment, we will abstain from making any allusions of this nature. However, in closing this chapter, we will sum up the situation by adding that the movement towards civilisation, progress, and liberty, which has been stirred in the breast of the Armenian nation in Russia, in Turkey, and even in Persia, in modern times, is in a great measure due to the action of her clergy.

PART II

DOCTRINE

CHAPTER XX

The Principles of Dogmas

If, on the one hand, it be true that all branches and denominations of Christianity have their roots sunk deep in the gospels, which are, in the first place, rounded off by the epistles of the New Testament, and, in the second place, by the books of the Old Testament; on the other hand, we see the various communions of which it is composed, not only differing among themselves on essential points, but frequently appearing to be in flagrant contradiction on questions of doctrine. And yet, in spite of these disagreements, not one of them disclaims the gospels as their groundwork; all with one accord claim to derive their doctrines from that self-same source. The phenomenon is at once strange and true. We must search for the cause in the tenor and the style of those books which only present doctrine in its primordial state, and, if we were allowed to use a common expression, in a crude and material form, which is capable of assuming the shape which the artist means to give it.

In the matter of doctrine, however, one cannot permit an arbitrarily free scope, or one dependent on individual or collective fancy, for the purpose of enunciating such or such a doctrinal proposition. Liberty of this kind has been, however, permitted by the Protestant reformers, whose principles glide by unconscious descent until they reach complete rationalism, so much so that at the present time it is scarcely possible to discern any trace of revealed Christianity in their beliefs. Their doctrine, properly speaking, amounts to a purely philosophical concept.

As loyal disciples of the Armenian Church, clinging with fervency to her ancient traditions, we have taken good care not to enter a similar path; it is our intention to adhere to positive and traditional ground, and suitably to consider only those principles which have the sanction of recognised authority.

All Christian denominations are comprised within two main branches, of which one is constituted on the basis of a hierarchy and of ritual. All the ancient Churches, without exception, were connected with that branch. The

others are comprised in the category of Churches which sprang from the Reformation of the sixteenth century. Among the latter, only the Anglican Episcopal Church, which has accepted both hierarchy and ritual, can be classed in the category of ancient Churches.

In the system peculiar to the first category, to the Oecumenic Councils belonged exclusively the power to evolve correct doctrine from the original matter of the holy books, and to formulate dogmatic propositions. Nevertheless, it was incumbent on them neither to deviate from the basis of tradition, nor to arrogate to themselves the liberty to follow their own inspirations, nor the arguments, pure and simple, of the individual judgment.

To make ourselves better understood, we should settle, first of all, the distinguishing feature between a dogma and a doctrine. The dogma is a proposition drawn from the sacred books and expressed in formula which is both clear and distinct. It should be accepted by the followers of a given Church, on pain of estrangement from the bosom of that Church. The doctrine is a statement or explanation, equally drawn from the sacred books and corroborated by tradition. Consequently, it may be accepted as an assertion which is sound and positive, or it may be quasi-positive; but it imposes no obligation on the faithful to comply with it absolutely. In any case, they cannot be shut out of the Church unless they deny her. The dogma is the teaching of the Church; the doctrine is but the statement of the school. Dogmas belong to religion; doctrines to theology.

The ancient Churches referred to the authority of Oecumenic Councils all beliefs which were in question, in order that any difficulty raised in connection with a dogma might be solved. That rule has never ceased to be rigorously observed from the early centuries until our present time.

The Roman Church alone deemed it necessary, in the second half of the nineteenth century, to take away that prerogative from the Councils and to fix it on the person of the pope. But, in order to justify such a usurpation of authority, she could not do less than refer to that self-same authority which she had despoiled, thus compelling it to commit a moral suicide. But we need not dwell on this.

It is said that the authority of the Oecumenic Councils for the formulation of dogmas was the outcome, in the first place, of the promise of divine assistance; that is to say, it is based on the spiritual aid which was promised to the Church. On the other hand, it is equally the resultant of the logical efficacy derived from the main body, and the immediate nearness of traditions. Therefore, it is not so much the number of individuals, in the Oecumenic Councils, who are accepted as authorities, as the number of the Churches which are there represented. It follows, therefore, that the members of a Council which only concerns a single Church, though they may number a thousand, can only reflect the tradition of that particular Church; whereas, if they represent different Churches, they become the mouthpiece of the dominant opinion of the Universal Church. Likewise, if there is proximity of time between the origin of the tradition and its attestation, we are impressed by the force of the testimony. Can we reasonably attach any importance to a testimony which is connected with events or remarks which are about nineteen centuries old?

CHAPTER XXI

The Dogmas of the Armenian Church

We have said that the Oecumenic Councils were the official source from which emanated the dogmas of the ancient Churches. The Latin Catholic, otherwise the Roman, Church is the one which has known best how to turn that tradition to account. She accepts as valid twenty Oecumenical Councils, beginning with the one of Nicaea in the fourth, and ending with the Vatican Council in the nineteenth century. The Byzantine, otherwise the Greek Orthodox, Church ceased sooner to lay down dogmatic decisions. She accepts as valid only seven Councils, the second of Nicaea, which was held in the eighth century, being the final of the series. The Armenian Church is even more radical in this respect. She acknowledges as lawful only the first three, which were equally recognised by both the Latins and the Greeks. She denies the oecumenic character of the remaining four, against the views of the Greeks and the Latins, and of the thirteen which are accepted by the Latins alone. The Councils of the Armenians are those of Nicaea and of Constantinople, held in the fourth, and that of Ephesus, in the fifth century. We have referred, in the historical portion of this work, to the dissensions which were stirred up in connection with the fourth Council, that of Chalcedon.

It is necessary to recognise that every dogma with its mysteries constitutes a difficulty for the human understanding. And, seeing that the Christian religion, which we profess, imposes on it such a strain, to which it is our duty to submit, it is but wise that we should never overtax the difficulty. It is never wise, we assert, to increase needlessly the burden of mysteries, nor the number of dogmas, nor that of Councils. No one will dispute what we say on this point, especially at this critical hour of stress that the faith is going through.

If we wished to express, in the shape of a mathematical formula, the difference there is in the number of dogmas adopted by the Armenian, Greek, and Latin Churches respectively, we should be able to make good the following proportion: ARM. : GRC. : LAT. : : 3 : 7 : 20. Obviously, this is all to the credit of the Armenian Church. We think that it would be appreciated as it

deserves if it were sufficiently understood by those who apply themselves to ecclesiastical questions. For instance, we have taken the opportunity of referring the point to a European diplomatist. Having asked him his opinion on the point, he made no difficulty in acknowledging that the advantage lay in having the least possible number of dogmas. We think that this testimony in favour of the Armenian Church will be confirmed by all men of sense.

If, by a happy chance, the chief ancient Churches ever succeed, we do not say by amalgamating into complete unity, but at all events by establishing among themselves a mutual understanding, they would, most certainly, be able to find the best foundation for an agreement only on the basis of that Church. A closer connection is only possible when it rests on a position which is free from controversy; a minimum of conditions is of assistance in eliminating discords.

The small number of dogmas which is peculiar to the Armenian Church must not be ascribed to mere chance, or to a result which has not been weighed. It is the outcome, above all things, of a sober principle in matters of doctrinal regulation. We have laid down the principle that the chief basis of the authority of Oecumenic Councils lay in unanimity of the various Churches; for, by that alone are expressed effectively and truly the views of the Universal Church. That unanimity had been practically realised in the three Councils summoned from 325 to 431, that is to say, in the course of the century which kept pace with the Church's triumph. During that period all the great Churches were of one mind as to the way in which dogmas should be understood. Where opinions differed—and there were many such cases, as with the Arians—these were only the opinions of individuals, and were never brought forward as the general opinion of a given Church. It will be noticed, too, that during this early period there were no disputes among the Churches, either regarding precedence or authority. The situation changed, however, totally after the third Council, when the antagonism of the patriarchal sees began to prepare a fertile field for dogmatic questions. Each patriarchate, in turn, summoned a general Council in opposition to another. Such was the case when the question relating to the nature of Christ was raised. The opinion, based on the tradition of the entire Alexandrine Church, was set aside by the Roman and Byzantine patriarchates combined, and they had the support of the emperor Marcian. During the period of half a century there were unfolded declarations of a most contradictory type on

the authority of the Council of Chalcedon, the fourth Oecumenic Council of the Greeks and the Latins. It is not, therefore, without reason that the Armenian Church has thought it her duty to look upon the Council of Ephesus of 431 as the last whereby the unanimity of the Churches was maintained, in the conviction that we have in it the true traditional groundwork of the Universal Church.

One other reason for rejecting the decisions of the Council of Chalcedon was the very object it had of laying down dogmatic definitions. That object should have restricted itself to affirmation, and not the explanation of a given truth. The three earlier Councils complied with this rule by proclaiming the divinity of Jesus Christ, the divinity of the Holy Ghost, and the union of the divine and human natures in Christ. The essential truths, on which were based the dogmatic constitution of the Christian mysteries, that is to say, the Trinity, the Incarnation, and the Redemption, had been perfected by the definitions of the three Councils. Breaking with this rule, we see the Council of Chalcedon entering on a path of explanations, and endeavouring to determine the circumstances either of the form or mode, and not the essence, of the incarnation, or of the union of the divinity and the humanity in Christ. But it is impossible that the explanation of a dogmatic fact should become the object of a definition or the substance of a dogma. Explanations can only assist us by providing material for study. The duty, therefore, of explaining dogmas devolves, not on Oecumenic Councils, but on schools and doctors of divinity. The authority of the Universal Church cannot be called upon to perform the part of a scholastic faculty.

CHAPTER XXII

The Profession of Faith

In the early centuries the profession of faith in each Church was expressed by an official formula: the *Symbol* or *Creed.* The Latin Catholic Church retains still in her liturgy a short creed known by the name of the *Apostles' Creed,* but it is wanting in all the characteristics of an official declaration in the matter of faith. The Councils and the popes were in the habit of constantly remodelling the creed, with the sole object of suiting it to their dogmas, which they produced one after another according to their requirements. The Vatican Council, in 1870, also added new expressions to it. But it was the Council of Trent especially which most of all enlarged the limits of dogmatic canons. It has had the making of all those theological and scholastic opinions, as well as those rigid dogmas, which it has laid down, and which are forced on one to believe under pain of anathema; and all this has been done with the sole purpose of enhancing the papal authority. So that the Roman Catholic, hemmed in on all sides, is able at the present time, neither to discover a loophole whereby he can bring to the light his own personal opinions, nor a clear field for enlarging the horizon of his studies. What should he do? Even to think is forbidden him. He is obliged to give up his reasoning powers, nay, even the free exercise of his intelligence, for he cannot take a step without running foul, on his path, of the inevitable dogmatic canon, which puts a stop to his inquiries. The recent *syllabus,* levelled against the Modernists, is but a bid for that position without any escape. Under the term *modernists* it stamps all men of science, as well as ecclesiastical scholars, who are endeavouring to break down the cramped circle of the canons of the Councils and the decisions of the popes. It may be said that the last encyclical of Rome has definitely pronounced the divorce between her Church and science.

Now, there can be no occasion for anything of this nature within the pale of the Armenian Church. Of a truth, she, too, has her national synods, and she does not fail to lay down her decisions on doctrinal matters. Nevertheless, she never sets forward the claim to ascribe validity to dogmas, nor does she condemn as heretics or schismatics those who would not

conform to the teaching of her doctrines. All the doctrinal points which fix a line of demarcation between the Armenian and the other Churches, and which are in no way designed to trespass on the prerogatives of these latter, are so many instances which corroborate our statement.

The Armenian Church only recognises Councils to be truly oecumenic, and having the authority to pronounce dogmatic definitions, which embrace all branches of Christianity, assembled together in accordance with a revealed principle. Such a unanimity will never present itself again after the split of the fifth century, and we would add that it cannot recur so long as the disputes which divide the Churches endure.

The creed adopted by the Armenian Church, for its offices, is the Athanasian formula, which had its beginning during the Council of Nicaea. It contains almost exclusively the dogma of the Incarnation, which she preserves with neither modification nor addition. However, this same Church possesses a second creed, which was drawn up later and is represented in the ritual. It is recited by the clergy on the occasion of their ordination; but it differs from the former only in amplifying the formulas, the chief of which relates to the natures of Jesus Christ.

That formula should be deemed sufficient for the purpose of rebutting the imputation of Eutychianism, once maliciously or thoughtlessly made against the Armenian Church. The interpretation in question consists in the expression One nature united (in Armenian: *Miavorial mi bnouthiun*). Eutyches treats of a blend and a confusion of the two natures, which result in the individual unity of Christ; whereas the unity of nature, or the Monophysitism, which is accepted by the Armenian Church, is identical with the Ephesian formula, which is that of St. Cyril: *One nature of the Word Incarnate.* If, in the mystery of the Incarnation, the divinity and the humanity—that is to say, the two natures—had preserved their duality, that circumstance would have been fatal to the virtue in the passion of Jesus Christ, who is in the character of one indivisible Person, God and Man; and, as affecting the Redemption, the self-same reason suffices. Were it not so, we would find ourselves landed in the doctrine of Nestorius. Of all the kinds of union which, in our opinion, could be compared with the supernatural union of Christ, that of the union of mind and of body seems to supply us with the best explanation. For one cannot deny the unity of human nature,

in spite of the distinction between the mind and the body. Such, therefore, is the Monophysitism of the Council of Ephesus, which the Armenian Church upholds, and which is altogether different from that of Eutyches. The name of the latter is officially and solemnly anathematised by the Church, under the same head as those of Arius, of Macedon, and of Nestorius. No one can, therefore, accuse this Church of Eutychianism without incurring the reproach of ignorance or of dishonesty.

With regard to the differences which divide the Armenian and the Greek orthodox Churches, these apply solely to the rejection by the former of the Council of Chalcedon, and in the non-recognition of the succeeding Councils. On all other dogmatic questions, the two Churches are in perfect accord. For it behoves us to declare that if the Councils which are in question have not been recognised by the Armenian Church, nevertheless the points which were determined by them have never been rejected *ipso facto.* For instance, the condemnation of the Three-Chapters, pronounced by the fifth Council, which was but a return to the decrees of Ephesus, may be looked upon as favourable to the doctrine of the Armenian Church. The question of Monothelitism (one will in Christ's two natures), which was handled at the sixth Council, was on the other hand a repetition of the Chalcedonian policy. The worship of images, dealt with at the second Council at Nicaea, aimed only at a point which bore rather a ceremonial than a doctrinal aspect. Without being altogether banished from the Armenian Church, this worship has ever been confined to the narrowest limits. Statues are debarred, as they are the reminders of ancient idolatry. With regard to pictures and bas-reliefs, they are blessed and anointed with the holy oil, in order to differentiate them from ordinary works of art; and it is only after their consecration that they are placed over the altars. Contrary to the practice of other communions, which decorate the interiors of their houses with icons, the Armenian possesses no holy images.

As to the expression of dogmas, this Church holds strictly to the ancient formulae; she therefore no more admits the addition of the Filioque, the particular judgment, the pains of purgatory, the immediate beatific vision, than she does transubstantiation, the indulgences, and the papal theory. All these innovations could only have been accepted by the Latin world by an improper interpretation of the practices of the primitive Church.

It is with simpleness of purpose and a minimum of encumbrances that the Armenian Church has steered her course in the matter of dogmas. The lofty principle expressed by a learned divine of the Western Church, but of which that Church has been neglectful, has been and ever remains the watchword of our Church. The expression *Unitas in necessariis* (Unity in essentials) has been brought by her to a point of the most stringent necessity; that of *Libertas in dubiis* (Liberty in doubtful matters) she has applied in the broadest of senses; and it is only on the basis indicated by common sense that it will be possible, to our thinking, of ensuring to the Universal Church the *Charitas in omnibus* (Charity in all things).

CHAPTER XXIII

The Spirit of Tolerance

The Latin Catholic Church, whose spirit of exclusiveness is well known, proclaims the intolerant axiom that *whoso is beyond the pale of the Roman Church has no part in eternal salvation.* The Greek Orthodox Church, on her side, refuses to allow the sacraments to be administered where there is no strict conformity with her own practices, so much so that she is obliged to resort to re-baptism and re-ordination. So that these two Churches, which have adopted the stately names of *Catholic* and *Oecumenic,* as a proof of their universality, are, in fact, isolated and confined within the circle of their own individuality.

Such an intolerance is altogether foreign to the spirit of the Armenian Church, which cannot admit that any particular or national Church, however vast she may be, has the power to arrogate to herself the character of universality. In the sentiment that true universality can only be brought about by the combination of all the Churches, she upholds the author of the principle, *Unitas in necessariis,* wherein are summed up the fundamental principles of Christianity. Having once admitted that condition, each one is at liberty to differ on points of secondary importance. Such are the principles on which the Armenian Church places the most stringent signification. She admits as essential only the dogmatic definitions of the first three Oecumenic Councils, definitions whose origin can be traced to a single period, during which the particular Churches still maintained among themselves their unity and their respective communions. So that every Church which accepted the dogmas of the Trinity, of the Incarnation, and of the Redemption, could, though following her own views, form a part of the Church Universal, and, by such title, she conferred on her faithful followers the right to eternal salvation. They all maintained among themselves the communion *in spiritualibus,* whereby the union of faith and of charity was exalted—a necessary condition if we are to have the unity of Christendom.

The other points, concerning doctrine or opinion, can be admitted or rejected, whether they be the outcome of the decision of a particular Council, or are based on the authority of theologians; and unless this is done, harm must come to the completeness of universal unity. For all these points bear a secondary character, as we have already said. They but bear the import of simple matters of doctrine, devoid of dogmatic force, and, in consequence, are amenable to latitude in thought. It is enough for us that the view we take should not be opposed to the dogmas authorised by the three Councils. Particular Churches, in following different systems, should not, therefore, be debarred from universal unity; no more can they be recognised as having the right to inflict their doctrines upon others.

Our purpose in writing these lines, whereby we assert with emphasis the theological and ecclesiastical liberalism of the Armenian Church, is to prepare a way for Christianity in the future. That claim would bear a justifiable aspect, if one reflects that its spirit is in keeping with that of the present day; it is that we should look upon every man as sincere. It cannot be denied that these principles resolve themselves into the only means whereby we can reconcile with the tendencies of our time the eternal heritage of Christ.

It is proper to add that the spirit of tolerance and of liberalism, which forms the groundwork of the Armenian Church, is often turned against herself. It is on this account that foreign proselytism has been made easy among the followers of the Church. That fact has been established, not only during the Middle Ages, but also in our own time. It is known what success has attended Catholic and Protestant missionaries, who come with the intention of establishing separate communities among the Armenians. If we were to look into the historic side of the matter, we would find that the facility in passing from one communion to another owes itself to the special upbringing of the Armenian, nurtured in his respect for the beliefs of others. From his infancy he is never heard to say that that portion of humanity which subsists outside the pale of his own Church must of necessity be deprived of eternal salvation; he has never been threatened with the chastisements of the future life in the event of his breaking away from his national Church. In order to secure for himself eternal salvation, he knows that it is sufficient that his works should be good, and that his conduct should be in keeping with the morality of the gospel. Such is his broad

understanding of the Christian conception which leads him often to embrace, without question, professions of faith which are foreign to him, whenever he thinks that by such a change he is able to reconcile his material interests with those of his salvation. It is by taking advantage of this phase of his mind that foreign missionaries are doing their best to undermine the fabric of Armenian unity. It is not that the Church fails to notice the facilities which she thus proffers to foreign proselytism. She has realised the disastrous effects which proceed from her principles of tolerance; but, in spite of that bitter experience, she is resolved to remain faithful to her sacred maxims of theological and ecclesiastical liberalism; she has upheld them, and will continue to uphold them unimpaired in the future. It will be to her a lofty title to glory if ever she be the means of tendering to Christianity the possibility of a reconciliation—a contingency which is ever probable.

CHAPTER XXIV

The Doctrine of Sacraments

It is an admitted fact in ecclesiastical history that the number of sacraments was not fixed at the total of seven until about the middle of the twelfth century, and this circumstance, in fact, was brought about by the scholastics, who struggled hard to make them stand at that number. However, neither the holy Fathers nor ancient theologians make any mention of them. The early Christians treated of but two sacraments; by degrees their number rose to a dozen. The oldest definition by which their number was fixed at seven may be traced to the Council of Florence in the fifteenth century. Information of this reached the Armenians through Latin missionaries. It is clear, therefore, that the seven sacraments constitute not so much a dogma, as a simple article of doctrine. The question of the seven sacraments counts, however, for very little among the Armenians; indeed, it is of so vague a character that it would be very difficult to bring them all to a point of precision, if such an attempt were made. That which is called *extreme unction* is not in use; the various attempts that have been made to introduce it into the Church have hardly been successful. The wish expressed, to substitute for the unction the prayers used for the dying, cannot sufficiently satisfy the essential conditions which are required for sacraments. It is seen, therefore, that the doctrine of the seven sacraments cannot be accepted by the Armenians. Excepting extreme unction, all the others are administered in the Armenian Church. Let us see what information we have on the subject.

Infants receive baptism by complete and horizontal immersion; in cases of absolute necessity, however, baptism by sprinkling is not held to be invalid. Confirmation, or holy anointing, is administered conjointly with that sacrament by the priest who performs the baptism, and the baptized infant is at once admitted to labial communion—that is to say, the holy particle is placed in contact with the tongue. The three sacraments are administered at one time, and it is in their being thus carried out together that the completeness of baptism lies. It is not, therefore, admitted either

that the practice of the first communion, or that of confirmation, should be delayed so as to be administered by the bishop.

The communion is administered without distinction of age, in both elements, by means of pieces of the consecrated wafer being soaked in the element of the wine. The wafer consists of unleavened bread, unfermented and of sufficient texture, which is prepared and baked by the priests on the day of the mass; it is of a circular form, and is stamped with the sign of the cross and certain ornamental designs. The wine must be pure, that is, without the addition of water. The wafer for consecration is always single, and its size is proportioned to the probable number of communicants. The latter stand up, when the priest places under their tongue a broken portion of the soaked wafer. The custom has been kept up of reserving in the churches dried particles of the elements for sick persons and for all those who, in exceptional cases, do not wish to communicate at the mass. These are suitably preserved in a recess on the side, made in the apse, without any display of coverings or lighted lamps.

The sacrament of penitence or confession takes place according to a general formula, by a declaration of the chief sins; and the confessor refrains from entering into details, and especially from broaching an examination. Ordinarily, it is usual to allow a delay of a few days between the confession and the absolution, so as to permit of a suitable preparation for the communion, which follows immediately after the absolution.

The sacrament of orders is conferred by the imposition of hands, and by the bestowal of appropriate badges for each order. The unction is given to the priesthood, the episcopate, and the catholicosate. The orders of the priestly office were formerly four in number, in keeping with Eastern tradition; but it was made into seven at the time of the Crusades, under the influence of Western ideas; the sub-diaconate, however, has always been looked upon among the Armenians as a minor order, whereas the Latins regard it as a major or holy order. The offices of bishop and catholicos are distinct from that of simple priesthood. The seven orders are conferred by the bishop, the episcopate by the catholicos with the assistance of two bishops, and the catholicosate by twelve bishops. The doctorate of theology, or the rank of *vardapet,* is invested with the form of an order. It is divided into two classes: the minor or particular doctorate *(masnavor),* and the major

or supreme doctorate *(dzairakouyn),* which enjoys privileges equivalent to those of the episcopate. Doctorates can only be conferred by the bishops, who are themselves invested with the supreme doctorate. The rite is sufficiently lengthy, and comprises the epistles, the gospels, and the several books of the prophets.

The sacrament of marriage is known under the name of the sacrament of the crown *(psak),* and the proper minister for its solemnisation is the priest, who consecrates the union under the authority of the bishop. Divorce is canonically permitted, and is pronounced under the authority of the catholicos or the patriarch. Cases of nullity are settled on general principles bearing on the validity and the legality of the acts, to the exclusion of every condition which is proved to be due to arbitrary action. The conditions for a bar to a divorce have been defined by the canons of the ancient Councils.

Such are the doctrinal points concerning the sacraments; as for those which are of a disciplinary and liturgical character, they will be found dealt with in special chapters.

CHAPTER XXV

Precision in Doctrine

It has been alleged that the Armenian Church lacks precision in the attestation of her doctrine, and that her theologians and her books of catechism sometimes contradict each other. We have no desire to scrutinise to what extent such an allegation is justified; nevertheless, we are prepared to recognise its value. Such an admission, however, far from weakening our point of view, establishes, on the contrary, an argument which is decidedly on the side of her liberal spirit in matters theological. We have already shown that, if her dogmas are few in number, on the other hand her doctrinal sphere is extensive, and that doctrinal differences cannot create an impediment from the point of view of union.

It is known by experience to what extent the spirit of the age and the circumstances of time exert their influence on opinions and teaching in general. Opinions and teaching of an ecclesiastical character cannot escape from such a rule; whether, therefore, we wish it or not, all, whether they be pastors, theologians, ministers, or the faithful, must submit to it, and, in consequence, the effects are apparent on the doctrine itself. That theory once accepted, it has to be allowed that every doctrine which is encumbered under the influence of passing circumstances can eventually lose whatever it may have of the incidental. Would it not, therefore, be a question of elementary prudence to keep an open path for the natural evolution of things? Such a course would, we think, be for the highest welfare of religion.

The principle of distinguishing between dogmas and doctrines, viz. the immutability of the one and the mutability of the other, guides us, by a logical inference, in recognising the policy of the open path, that is to say, on the one hand by solemnly approving of a limitation in the matter of dogma, and, on the other hand, in allowing liberty in the matter of doctrine. Thanks to such a policy, the Church is able to maintain her stability, which is essential for her; but without it she must needs stand in the way of all efforts at intellectual progress. She avoids in this way the accusation of being

arrayed against science, and refuses to look upon herself as the accredited defender of retrograde ideas.

Of a very truth, the cause of complaint against the Church's zeal to dogmatise every doctrine, to reduce every opinion into a binding formula, to put an end flatly to every discussion, is more than justified. It is precisely in that very way that the Roman Church has got herself entangled, more especially after the Council of Trent, where every doctrinal opinion of the Church was defined, stereotyped, and enacted. That work was brought to a completion by the *syllabus* of the popes, and by the incomprehensible decrees of the Council of the Vatican; so thoroughly was it done, that the divines and the followers of that Church were forced to the extent of giving up even their faculty of reasoning; they were forced to comply blindly with the thought of theologians and bishops of the sixteenth century.

However, we cannot blame these latter for having belonged to their times; their only fault lay in dogmatising their ideas and their bare opinions, so as to close for ever to posterity the door to reasoning. It is not rash to presume that if these men of the sixteenth century were to return to us again, they would think differently of their handiwork. But let us return to the Armenian Church.

The differences which, it was alleged, existed between the divines and in the catechisms arose precisely from such an evolution and by the influence of circumstances. The Armenian Church herself, so firmly attached though she is to her ancient traditions, cannot remain altogether oblivious of these influences. We have no reluctance in even admitting that she was more liable to change than any other, destitute as she had been for long centuries of the advantages of uninterrupted progress which had been vouchsafed to human society. Thrown into disorder by the political changes of Eastern countries, and tossed about by cross currents, she was bound to suffer under the shock and the effect of these opposing influences. In fact, she has suffered, sometimes through Greek, and sometimes through Latin influence; she has been compelled, whether by force and superior power, or by delusion and trust, to adopt points of view and teachings which were alien to her character. Peculiarities, more or less strange and foreign, have crept almost insensibly into her customs, into her rites, and into her modes of thought. We do not deny that certain patriarchs and theologians have expressed ideas

which are little in keeping with ancient tradition. Nevertheless, such ideas only pledge the person giving utterance to them; and the discord which is the outcome of them cannot taint the Church's fundamental dogmatism, which cannot change.

Certain opinions which were formerly accepted it has been found possible to ignore; but, as these have at most only a doctrinal importance, they were subject to modification. It is natural that, as they have been at the mercy of the fluctuating thought of bygone ages, they should submit also to the changes of the times to come. Such a view cannot hinder the Church from remaining unchangeably identical within herself as regards her essential principle, and unshaken on her foundations.

Such is the position which the Armenian Church has chosen. If we look at things closely, it would be found that the other Churches do not stand on a different footing; for they too must of necessity submit to some changes. It would be a mistake to believe that the Roman Church at the present time is identically the same as the Church of the times when investitures were conferred, and of the Inquisition. But she persists in not seeing it. She puts up with doings which embarrass her in her action, for she is acting in contradiction to herself. By this persistence in refusing to see what are matters of fact, she has earned for herself the reputation of acting against her conscience, and, in consequence, of being a danger to her very self.

Such is our meaning regarding the remarks expressed on the subject of the doctrine of the Armenian Church. It explains as much as one could wish, that her policy is inspired more than ever with a genuine Christian liberalism. So much so, that she presents the basis of a system which cannot but be studied and preferred by the true friends of the Church of Christ. For her isolation where she stands, and for the state of humiliation which is her portion after centuries, it would be a mistake to pronounce judgment against her. Truth does not belong to numerical strength; we have the gospel to bear witness that it is to be found in the *pusillus grex* (the insignificant band) to which the Heavenly Father promised His heritage.

PART III

RULE

CHAPTER XXVI

Organisation of the Hierarchy

According to the principles of the Armenian Church, supreme authority was vested in the Oecumenic Councils which were convoked by the hierarchical bodies of the several Churches. These exercised absolute functions in matters of dogma. Questions of discipline were of a secondary nature. She holds that dogmatic canons are essentially binding on all Churches; while disciplinary canons, which serve as the basis for inter-ecclesiastical relations, are liable to variation in their application to each particular Church, according to circumstances. She also admits the possibility of variation in the several Churches as regards secondary points concerning doctrine, the methods of exposition, and the harmonising of dogmas. She teaches that the supreme authority of the Oecumenic Councils could have valid power only from the first three Councils; and that it has not been possible to assert authority of this nature since then, owing to the dissensions which arose among the Churches. She also doubts that such an authority will ever be exercised in the future, on account of the improbability of a reconciliation.

At the time of the assembly of the Vatican Council, the Roman Church, as a sheer matter of form, issued an invitation, doubtless to save appearances; for, in order to be canonical, it was necessary, as a preliminary, to put herself in touch with the other Churches concerning the points to be discussed, so as to pave the way for a common ground of understanding. But this writ to assemble was, properly speaking, but a summons to bow before her pretensions. Of a truth this procedure was not of a kind to smooth the preliminaries towards a sincere and loyal reconciliation.

To supplement what has been already said in the historical portion of this work—that is to say, that the Churches of the various provinces were grouped together separately to form national Churches or patriarchates—it may be added that this grouping was solely the result of the political conformation of the different countries. In the beginning, the three patriarchal sees which were founded in the Graeco-Roman world were

allotted according to the civil administrative divisions which were then prevalent. Rome was the capital of the empire, and the administrative centre for all the provinces of the West. The kingdoms of the Ptolemies and of the Seleucides, which, at the period of the spread of Christianity, had already been absorbed in the Roman empire, were converted into prefectures, and had Alexandria and Antioch for their capitals. In keeping with this distribution, three patriarchates were created at Rome, Alexandria, and Antioch, which were separate and independent of each other.

Besides, there were lesser prefectures at Caesarea, Ephesus, and Heraclea, for the provinces of Pontus, Asia, and of Thrace; and, corresponding with this distribution, ecclesiastical exarchates were created in these three cities. These latter lost their autonomy only when the capital of the empire was transferred to Constantinople, where a fourth patriarchate was then established. As to the patriarchate of Jerusalem, it was established solely for the purpose of doing honour to the Holy City. To this end, the Council of Nicaea severed from the see of Antioch the two provinces of Palestine, and embodied them into the patriarchate of Jerusalem.

It has been quite wrongly imagined that the four patriarchates of the East were part and parcel of the Greek Church. Such was not the case. The patriarchate of Constantinople alone represented the national Church of that nation. The see of Antioch belonged to the Syrian nationality; that of Alexandria to the Egyptian; and that of Jerusalem to the inhabitants of Palestine. It is true that the Macedonian supremacy had left many traces behind it in those districts, and that Syria and Egypt had, to a certain extent, become Hellenised. But these effects were merely superficial; for, in the depth of their convictions, the native populations retained unimpaired their national spirit.

The political considerations which induced the distribution of the patriarchates in the Graeco-Roman world had for their object the creation of other autonomous patriarchates in countries which were outside the limits of the empire, and which had, like Armenia, Persia, and Ethiopia, received apostolic teaching. The Church in Persia bore the name of Ctesiphon or of Seleucius; and, in our time, she is represented by the patriarchate of Babylon of the Chaldaeans. That of Ethiopia was for the time incorporated with the Egyptian patriarchate of Alexandria. Concerning the

Armenian patriarchate, we have nothing to add to what has been already stated. We will, however, supplement it by remarking, in reference to the nature and extent of its jurisdiction, that the political and territorial principle, which ruled in the formation of the patriarchates at the start, necessarily determined the limits of the see of Armenia as conterminous with those of its kingdom, which at that time consisted of Armenia Major. What in the course of time came to be called Armenia Minor was then connected with the prefecture of Pontus, and, consequently, was dependent on the jurisdiction of the archbishop of Caesarea; and later, to that of the patriarchate of Constantinople. On the other hand, Georgia and Caspian Albania, which, at the rise of Christianity, had been subject to Armenian rule, passed under the jurisdiction of their own patriarchates.

This strictly territorial principle was rigorously adopted by all the ecclesiastical jurisdictions in the early Church. By virtue of this system it was only possible to have one bishop in each diocese, and all Christians, irrespective of nationality or origin, were subject to him. This rule only began to lose its force when individual Churches severed all connection with others, and took the course of refusing mutual communion *in divinis.* From this arose the necessity of installing different priests and bishops within the same diocese, in accordance with the varying beliefs and religious ceremonies peculiar to each denomination of the population. This custom became more and more general from the time of the Crusades. Side by side with the Greek and Syrian bishops of the conquered countries were installed Latin bishops. From that time the old rule, which upheld the system of territorial jurisdiction, was entirely disregarded; each individual Church, which singled herself out from others by her own beliefs or ceremonies, resolved to have her own bishop. Such is the explanation of that anomaly whereby dioceses had at their head as many as seven or eight bishops, each bearing alike the same title.

Subsequently the principle of ecclesiastical jurisdiction was turned to account through right of conquest. Those countries which had not been Christianised in apostolic times, but had been converted by a pre-existing Church, passed under the jurisdiction of the latter. Thus the Church of Constantinople, through her apostolate, established her supremacy over the Balkan States and over Russia; and the Church of Rome established hers over Germany, Britain, and Scandinavia; as she did, later, over the two

Americas and the Extreme East. Herein lies the chief reason of the enormous and world-wide development of the jurisdiction of the Latin Church, or the patriarchate of Rome, whose influence increased in proportion to the social progress of the West. But this expansion of power and influence brought in its train abuses which led to the Reformation, whereby, at one blow, a goodly portion of her heritage was wrested from her jurisdiction. We must expect now fresh separations from her. The measures of repression which have, in the last resort, been enforced against those who go under the name of Modernists will probably yet bring about deep resentment towards her.

In spite of past experience, the papacy continues arrogantly to assert its right to meddle in the intellectual domain, and to maintain its politico-administrative interference over those portions of the world which are dependent on its authority. It contrives indiscreetly to restrict more and more the administrative sphere of authorities which are subordinate to it, by annulling those ancient rights which still remained to the Gallican, Hungarian, Ambrosian, Mozarabic, and Eastern Churches; it reduces the ordinaries (bishops) of dioceses to the position of mere vicars.

This policy is far indeed from the spirit of the orthodox Greek Church, where the principle prevails that each nation or people having political independence should *ipso facto* enjoy the rights and privileges which are identified with autocephalic Churches. These rights confer administrative autonomy and a voice in dogmatic definitions.

Formerly, each autocephalic Church was administered by a patriarch or exarch, who was invested with supreme authority; but Russia, in the time of Peter the Great, was the first to supersede this arrangement by a permanent synod. Her example has been followed by the other orthodox states; so that to-day Greece, Roumania, Servia, Montenegro, and Bulgaria each possesses her own national synod.

We have only to add to what has already been said concerning the Armenian Church in this respect, that in spite of the dispersion of her faithful throughout the world, and the creation of subordinate sees, consisting of two catholicosates and two patriarchates, the jurisdiction of Etchmiadzin continues to extend over the entire Church.

CHAPTER XXVII

The Armenian Hierarchy

The hierarchic order comprises in general the four following degrees: 1. the supreme patriarch or catholicos; 2. the patriarch or special catholicos, exarch, or primate; 3. the archbishop or metropolitan; 4. the bishop. The suffragan bishops are but mere non-resident vicars.

It has been said that supreme patriarchs are at the head of those particular Churches which are independent. Those which are part and parcel of the latter, and have, by reason of certain circumstances, acquired the right or privilege of forming themselves into special Churches, are administered by subordinate heads, with a kind of autonomous power, but they are by no means independent. Their position might be compared to that of a vassal prince towards his suzerain. As we have shown above, their title varies according to countries and local customs. A certain difference in privileges and functions may be found among them, but it is not a divergence which in any way affects the general character of their hierarchic position. The bishops of the same province have a metropolitan at their head, that is to say, the archbishop at head-quarters, who possesses no greater prerogative save that of convening a conference of them when a common interest demands it. The bishops bear the name of suffragan with regard to the metropolitan, but they, in fact, enjoy all the prerogatives of the jurisdiction of an ordinary. We will now apply these general data to the specific case of the Armenian Church.

The supreme patriarch or catholicos of all the Armenians resides at present at Etchmiadzin, near Erivan, where existed, of old, the original residence, and where, after many wanderings, he has reverted.

In those early days he combined in his person two other sees which were accessory to his own: the catholicosate of Georgia, and that of Caspian Albania, which are no longer in existence. The see of Georgia broke away in the seventh century, and that of Caspian Albania was abolished in the beginning of the nineteenth century, on account of the fusion of the Caspio-Albanian or Aghouanian nationality with the Armenian. But, in course of

time, circumstances have brought into being other secondary sees. The transfer of the supreme see from Aghthamar to Ani and from Sis to Etchmiadzin gave occasion for the creation of two sees which, at first, were of an anti-patriarchal character, but their status was afterwards regularised. The see of Aghthamar exercises jurisdiction over the districts of Gavasche and of Schatakh in the *vilayet* of Van, and over the district of Khizan in the *vilayet* of Bitlis. This see, vacant since 1895, is administered provisionally by a bishop. The see of Sis exercises jurisdiction over the dioceses of Cilicia and of Syria. At the present time the *vilayets* of Adana, Aleppo, Sivas, Angora, and Mamuret-ul-Aziz are allotted to these dioceses. The last head of the see was elected in 1902, after a lapse of eight years. The patriarchate of Jerusalem owes its origin to the peculiar veneration with which the Christians of the East associate the Holy Places. Its jurisdiction extends over the *sandjak* of which that city is the capital, and over that of Lebanon, as well as over the *vilayets* of Damascus and of Beyrouth. Egypt and the island of Cyprus, which were formerly connected with the patriarchate of Jerusalem, are at the present time dependent on the see of Constantinople.

We have devoted a special chapter to the origin of the patriarchate of Constantinople, and also to the details of its spiritual jurisdiction, which embraces, as we have shown, the whole of Turkey, with the exception of those districts which are dependent on the above-mentioned patriarchates. But if, as we have seen, its spiritual action is circumscribed, its administrative and national authority, on the contrary, extends over the entire Armenian community, who are subject to the Porte. The Armenians who inhabit the Balkan States, viz., Greece, Roumania, Servia, Montenegro, and Bulgaria, countries which were formerly portions of Turkey, still continue to depend on its spiritual sway.

These are the four sees of the second order which are comprised within the Armenian ecclesiastical hierarchy. The incumbents of Sis and of Aghthamar are entitled to the style of catholicos, which is withheld from the patriarchs of Jerusalem and Constantinople. This title carries with it certain privileges, especially those of the consecration of the holy chrism and the ordination of bishops. It should be noted that, of these four sees, three have boundaries approximately corresponding to those of the patriarchates of Graeco-Roman foundation. These are respectively the sees of Antioch, Jerusalem, and Constantinople.

As a matter of fact, there are no metropolitans and suffragans over ecclesiastical provinces within the Armenian Church. Nevertheless, the bishoprics of the principal towns in Turkey bear the title of archbishoprics; and the dioceses in the Caucasus, which are very large, have, in their chief towns, vicars, who may be regarded as suffragans.

We come next to the bishops, who are classed in the fourth degree of the hierarchy. The number and division of dioceses have been fixed in proportion to actual needs, and not after any preconceived distribution. In Turkey the patriarchate of Constantinople possesses forty-five dioceses; the catholicosate of Sis has thirteen; the catholicosate of Aghthamar, two; and the patriarchate of Jerusalem, five. The whole of Russia is parcelled out into six large provinces *(eparchies),* which are again subdivided into nineteen dioceses. Persia has two provinces, wherein are included the East Indies and the island of Java. The Armenian colonies in Europe and in America form two distinct dioceses. Egypt, Roumania, and Bulgaria are included among the dioceses of Constantinople. It should be added that the dioceses of Persia, of Europe, and of America are in direct connection with Etchmiadzin.

Moreover, it should be observed that the ordinary heads of Armenian dioceses are not always ordained bishops; the Church allows archimandrites or doctors of the higher class to take up the functions of chief diocesan.

CHAPTER XXVIII

Ecclesiastical Functions

The functions pertaining to each hierarchic grade and to the ecclesiastical orders are based on a system of decentralisation. Each grade or order works, without restriction, in a true sphere of its own, and within the limits of its functions, subject to the control of the superior authority. This control is exercised whenever the subordinate stands in need of explanations or advice concerning a doubtful point, or for the purpose of settling a difficulty; when redress is needed on account of foreign interference; or else when the superior considers it necessary to interfere from motives of general interest, or for the prevention of abuse. The right of appeal is allowed to every grade.

The bishop is the head and the administrator in ordinary of his diocese, with complete competency over all business and functions which pertain to it. If the chief in ordinary of the diocese is merely an archimandrite, he has the power to sanction ordinations, but is not in a position to perform them himself. The title of *aratchnord* (prelate), which distinguishes them, is borne equally by all ordinaries, whether they be bishops or archimandrites. His competency over the clergy is absolute, whether for granting them licences, or in matters deserving censure. He gives judgment, in council, on marriage questions, with the reservation that he possesses no right to pronounce divorces. He grants dispensations in accordance with the facts of a case, and on the grounds of discretionary power.

The patriarch of Jerusalem is the guardian of the Holy Places, or, rather, of the sanctuaries which are in possession of the Armenians. He is the superior of the congregation of SS. James *(Srbotz Hacobiantz),* which has the custody of them. The Armenians are by no means numerous in the patriarchate of Jerusalem; and are grouped in small and scattered communities in the dioceses of Jerusalem, Jaffa, Beyrouth, and Damascus, though unprovided with proper diocesan organisation.

The patriarch of Constantinople, in his capacity as head of the entire nation, exercises his administrative agency over sixty-five dioceses. Those

over which his spiritual authority extends number forty-five. The episcopal diocese of Constantinople is conterminous in extent with the boundaries of the prefecture of that city.

The prelates of every degree in the hierarchy perform their functions with the assistance of councils, both spiritual and lay, or religious and civil. They confine themselves to carrying out the decisions of these councils, or rather, in certain cases, they adhere to general rules; whilst, in certain other circumstances, they arrogate to themselves, besides, a discretionary power.

The archpriests are entrusted with the spiritual supervision of the parochial churches; but what is described elsewhere as rights appertaining to the functions of a parish priest, is common to all priests. Each family has its recognised confessor, *Taneretz* or *Dzikhater* (supervisor of the home), whom it chooses for itself; he performs for it at the same time the duties of the parish priest. The licences for betrothals and for marriages are issued by the prelate in ordinary of the diocese. The offices within the churches are regulated, with one consent, by the archpriest, and by the supervising council, which is composed of laymen elected by popular vote. This council administers the parish, as well as its churches and its schools, and all other institutions of public utility. In the administration of the sacrament of penance or confession the system of special licence or of the reservation of sins is quite unknown in the Armenian Church.

Formerly the priests of every church, formed into an association, performed the duties of all parochial bodies. The fees and alms received were collected into a common fund, and afterwards distributed *pro rata* between the archpriest, the priests, the deacons, and the clerks. This custom has fallen into disuse for a long time, especially in the towns; at the present time each family has its recognised priest, who belongs to the parish.

The particular functions of the catholicos consist in the consecration of bishops and the blessing of the holy chrism. The consecration of bishops is performed as occasion arises, and the blessing of the holy chrism takes place every three or five years; a sufficient quantity being prepared for the needs of all the dioceses. It is a composition having boiled oil for its chief constituent, with a mixture of balm and of essences of forty different species of plants and odoriferous gums. About a quart of holy chrism reserved from a former preparation is added to it, in order that there may be in it some

small particles of the original holy chrism, which, it is claimed, was that which Jesus Christ blessed, and which had been taken to Armenia by the apostles. If this fact does not bear historical proof, it continues, nevertheless, to be taken for granted, and so it is not without its significance.

The above two privileges of consecration and of blessing the chrism also belong to the catholicos of Sis and of Aghthamar within the limits of their respective jurisdictions. The patriarchs of Jerusalem and of Constantinople are not endowed with these privileges; and their consecrations are performed at, and the holy chrism obtained from the supreme see of Etchmiadzin. But they maintain the right of themselves nominating the candidates for the episcopate within their charge.

PART IV

DISCIPLINE

CHAPTER XXIX

The Clergy and Celibacy

The clergy of the Armenian Church are divided into two quite distinct categories: the regular clergy, who are celibate, and the married secular clergy. The latter comprises, in effect, married men and fathers of families, living among worldly surroundings. It is absolutely necessary that marriage should precede their ordination to the diaconate. Once they become widowers, deacons and priests can only marry again on the condition that they lay aside their vestments and leave the ranks of the clergy. If they take this course, they incur no blame, and their reputation remains untarnished. On the other hand, those who marry a second time, or who marry a widow, are excluded from the priesthood. It is usual to allow the period of at least a year to elapse between marriage and ordination; the candidates should be between the ages of thirty and fifty. Exceptions to this rule are rare.

The functions of the married clergy embrace whatever is concerned with the spiritual direction of the people. He administers the sacraments, and takes upon himself the daily service of the offices. He is occupied in assisting the sick and the poor, performs burials, etc. Among the Easterns the daily obligation of reading the offices and of celebrating the mass does not exist; nor is what is called a low mass known.

The offices of archpriest, of vicar, and of member of the councils are the only ones within the reach of the married clergy. The married priest may conduct the duties of a vicariate in the event of a vacancy, but he is not allowed to be a candidate for the doctorate, nor for the dignity of the episcopate, unless he enters the ranks of the celibate clergy after widowerhood. Though this restriction has, in our time, acquired the force of law, it is altogether unsupported by canonical weight or old-established authority. If we scrutinise the essence of this rule, we arrive at the conclusion that the episcopate is but the fulness of the priestly office, dedicated to the service of the people; and this is precisely the definition of the duties which devolve on the married clergy. Formerly the bishops were recruited from among the archpriests, who then went under the title of *kahanaiapet,* that is

to say, the chief among the priests of a diocese, in the same way as the *avagueretz* (great-priest or archpriest) was the chief of the priests of a given church. There is nothing, therefore, to prevent the present custom, prevalent though it be, from being superseded by the usages of the primitive Church, and access to high ecclesiastical dignities being thrown open to the married clergy. Such a course would be highly beneficial to the nation; for the married clergy would escape from a position of inferiority which is in no way justified, and which especially fetters them by their exclusion from the higher offices, which is now their lot. Under the existing conditions, individuals who are gifted with some education are, generally speaking, little inclined to embrace a laborious career, wherein they can find no satisfaction for mental aspirations and material benefits. We find, therefore, scarcely any but men of a simple rank in life and of mediocre capacity who aim at attaining the priesthood at the present time. It is for this reason that the priesthood in the East in these days is in a condition of inferiority; and it goes without saying that the faithful are the first to suffer from such a state of things. As a remedy, we are inclined to think that a return to the ancient canons for the recruitment of the episcopate would remove the evil. By enlarging the field for promotion, the cultured portion of the nation would no longer hesitate to enter the ranks of the married clergy. That would tend to raise them in the eyes of the faithful, and would enable them to fulfil their mission worthily, and in keeping with the requirements of the times.

The celibate clergy are trained chiefly within the precincts of monasteries. The Armenian monastic institution has nothing in common with the system of religious orders in the West. Each monastery forms an independent community. Its members voluntarily submit to the rules of conduct based on canonical regulations, but are not bound by religious vows. The days of anchorities and contemplative monks have irrevocably passed; to-day the sole mission of the monasteries is to prepare the celibate clergy for their sacerdotal functions. Thus the monasteries of Sevan, on the lake of Gueuktchai, of Lim and of Ktoutz, on lake Van, to which is assigned the name of *anapat* (wilderness), have lost their character of contemplative institutions, and have been converted into seminaries for priests. This particular branch of the clergy devotes itself exclusively to preaching and to hierarchic duties. The administration of sacraments, the hearing of confession, and the solemnisation of marriage do not come within their

province; but their presence is required at those functions which are invested with any religious or ritual ceremony. The different degrees by which this branch is classified are those of deacons *(sarkavak),* monk-priests *(abegha),* minor or particular doctors *(vardapet),* supreme doctors *(dzairakouyn vardapet),* bishops *(episcopos),* and those which comprise the highest dignitaries of the hierarchy, such as archbishops, patriarchs, and catholicos. It is not customary to make use of married deacons, either on account of complications which might ensue from their employment, or to avoid the occasion of eventual widowerhood. But there are celibate deacons at the monasteries, where they usually serve a probationary period of three years. Monk-priests are ordained at the age of twenty-two at the least, and they are then invested with the *veghar* (hood), which distinguishes the celibate clergy.

The grades of doctor confer the right to preach through the bestowal of the doctor's crosier, which is surmounted by an emblem representing two or four serpents entwined, with their heads apart and facing each other. The two grades of this rank are subdivided into grades for mere appearance—the minor rank into four, and the major into ten, making fourteen in all; but this subdivision, after all, has no significance beyond increasing in proportion the number of hymns and lessons during the course of the ceremonies of investiture. The licence or assent of the ordinary of the diocese is indispensable before the ministry of preaching can be followed. The sermons are preached, in the standing position, from the platform of the altar. Only bishops enjoy the privilege of being seated when preaching.

The hierarchical duties of dioceses, whether they pertain to the ordinary or to an *ad interim* incumbent, are restricted to the celibate clergy. Those who have become widowers, whether before or after ordination, may be included in this class. Promotion to the episcopal rank is at the present time reserved exclusively for the celibate clergy, as we have already stated above. He alone has the right to carry the crosier and to put on the *veghar.* There is, however, no canonical bar to prevent the married clergy from receiving the doctor's crosier, if they are endowed with the necessary education. At present they preach sermons, but always without the crosier *(gavazan).*

The two degrees of the doctorate common in the Armenian Church have their exact counterpart in the degrees of licentiate and of doctor in theology which are conferred in the European universities. But the Armenian Church

has given them a more religious significance. Consequently, there is a tendency to attach less importance to the abilities of the candidates than to the duties with which they are concerned. It is on account of the exacting nature of these duties that the members of the celibate clergy are no longer tied down to the strict monastic life, nor are they compelled to live in the presbyteries.

CHAPTER XXX

The Ecclesiastical Revenues

There is no existence in the Armenian Church either of benefices or canonries or income such as the Latin clergy enjoy. The ecclesiastics live entirely on the voluntary offerings of the faithful. This is especially the case with the married priests. At times, however, the celibate ecclesiastics draw a moderate stipend.

The churches and the monasteries do, indeed, own some real property, such as lands or buildings, but the income which is derived from these properties is most precarious in Turkey, on account of the peculiar legislation which governs this class of property. The churches, the monasteries, and the schools are not recognised under Musalman law, as they do not come within the category of people possessing mental faculties; they are consequently deprived of the right of possession. To surmount this difficulty, an attempt is therefore made to register the inheritance of these institutions in an assumed name. But this expedient is attended with danger; for, in the first place, a risk is run of losing these possessions when their holder happens to die without leaving a direct heir. The possible bad faith of the heirs must also be reckoned with, or the contingency of a judicial attachment, which may even be without proper legal sanction. It must be remembered that properties which belong to the category of *vacoufs* (possessions in mortmain) can only be conveyed to a man's children. It is possible, however, to extend the right of inheritance to relations of the first and second degrees by payment of an indemnity in a lump sum, which is supplemented by an annual contribution.

Another expedient, which is often resorted to, is that of registering the properties under the name of a saint, as if he were still living. In this way the properties which belong to the church of St. Mary have come to be registered under the name of a woman, Mary, daughter of Joachim, and those which belong to the church of St. John the Baptist, under the name of a priest, John, son of Zachariah; and so on. But if the fiscal authorities were to drive their methods too far, there would be the danger of losing the

estates. This peculiar condition under which ecclesiastical property is administered has, in recent times, given rise to most serious difficulties. The government, which had shut its eyes until now in a tolerant spirit, has suddenly changed its tactics. It would, without compensation, put an end to a state of things which it has suffered to exist for many centuries. Thus it has instituted a system of confiscation; but it is to be hoped that the new laws will remedy the evil.

To explain briefly the nature of *vacoufs,* it should be remembered that estates which belong to religious or charitable institutions in *dominium directum* are included in that category. They only have no bearing on individual possessions in *dominium utile,* that is to say, on title to usufruct, with reservation of the right of succession, as has been said above. A very trifling annual charge towards the rights of transfer and of succession is levied by the institution; finally the ownership itself entirely reverts by the extinction of the category of heirs, as anticipated by the law. The churches and other Christian institutions alike possess the same right of ownership. Many of the churches of Constantinople own *vacoufs.*

The daily offertories made in the churches during the mass and the offices provide another source of income. Plates *(pnak),* which are entrusted to the lay members of the council, are carried round among the people; besides this, contribution boxes are placed in the court and at the entrances of the church to take in the gifts of the faithful. Formerly the collections did not fail to be tolerably productive, but at the present time they yield but little. It is necessary to add to these incomes the proceeds obtained by the sale of church candles, which is usually done at the doors of the churches, and payment for these is left to the discretion of the faithful. The custom of burning candles before pictures is always in favour among the Easterns.

The church receives, besides, a special fee at the celebration of religious ceremonies, such as baptisms, marriages, funerals, *requiem* masses, etc. The income obtained by the transactions of the chancery office, such as certificates, authentications, and attestations, has also to be taken into account. Gifts and voluntary offerings form a supplementary source of income, of which it is not possible to afford any precise information; and, in a word, the largest portion of the landed estates accrues from legacies and deeds of gift.

The monasteries enjoy, besides, the right to levy from the villages in their district a fixed portion in kind of the produce of the soil and what is bred on it. This contribution, which is called *plough* (fruit), although voluntary, has a fixed character about it. The ravages from which the Armenian provinces periodically suffer have dealt a fatal blow to this source of income.

As a matter of principle, the income of each church should be made to defray its own expenses. Endeavour should be made to lay it out in such a way as to satisfy its best interests. The expenses which the churches have to make provision for might be summed up as follows: (1) for the up-keep of the real property; (2) for the maintenance and purchase of ornaments and articles necessary for the church services; (3) for maintenance of the parochial school; (4) for salaries of the staff engaged for the service of the church and the school; (5) for relief of the sick and the poor. Free education is given to the latter; from others a small fee is required.

It is to the generosity of the faithful that the maintenance of the married clergy is also indebted. The best part of this fund is contributed for them by families, who have to provide for the needs of their *taneretz* (parish priests); the remainder comes from the ecclesiastical functions they perform on occasions of baptisms, betrothals, weddings, funerals, the blessing of houses at Christmas and Easter, and of the celebration of masses. The proceeds of the offertories and of alms intended for the priests of the same parish are divided amongst them. From what has been said above, it is clear that the married clergy exist solely on voluntary gifts, and the maintenance of its members depends on the amount of energy they display, as well as on the devotion of their flock.

When the members of the celibate clergy form part of an administration, or are attached for duty to a superior, they are generally allowed a small annuity, which is secured to them either by the diocese or by the church. To this pittance must be added the offerings which they receive on account of the duties they are called upon to perform among their flock.

We cannot but see that the existence of the Armenian clergy is based on an uncertain element. In such a position they can be sure of neither liberty nor independence of action in the presence of those they have to serve. At first sight this might appear, therefore, to be prejudicial to the general good;

and yet it offers the inestimable advantage of preventing the clergy from combining into a caste in the nation. It even tends to strengthen the bond of union and of harmony between the clergy and the people, from the very fact that the former are bound to watch over the interests of the latter. On their part, the clergy, struggling with the difficulties of existence, are compelled to redouble their zeal and their energies. This is the reason that the Armenian clergy have at all times felt themselves to be at one with the ideas and sentiments of their people. What in other Churches is termed the clerical spirit has never from the beginning existed among the Armenian clergy.

CHAPTER XXXI

The Laity in the Church

Among the Armenians the clergy are not looked upon as absolute masters and owners of the Church. This Church, since its institution, has belonged as much to the faithful as to the ministers of worship. In virtue of this principle, and apart from sacramental acts, for the performance of which ordination is indispensable, nothing is done in ecclesiastical administration without the co-operation of the lay element.

The participation of the laity in church matters is evidenced in the first place by the election of the minister of worship. The married priest is chosen by the parishioners, either by the direct process of voting, or by a deed of presentation. The religious council, presided over by the bishop, proceeds to examine the ability and the fitness of the candidate, and it is only after the advice of this body has been taken that the ordination of the candidate is carried out. The bishop cannot of his own initiative ordain a priest; but he may refuse him ordination if he can prove that the candidate falls short of canonical requirements.

As regards celibate priests, these are recruited from among the young people who are prepared for the priesthood in the monasteries. Their promotion lies at the discretion of the superior and the chapter, but their ordination to the diaconate and the priesthood must be sanctioned by the patriarchate, on which the monastic institutions are dependent. The lay element has no voice in this matter.

The election of the chief ordinaries of dioceses rests, in Turkey, with the diocesan councils, of which six-sevenths of the members are laymen and only one-seventh ecclesiastics. Such is the arrangement authorised by the old-established and general canon of the Church. The Russian *pologenia,* however, without placing a bar on lay intervention, reserves the right of final nomination to the czar on the presentation of two candidates by the catholicos. If we bear in mind the similarity which exists between the election of catholicos and that of bishops, the choice of candidates for the bishopric will be seen to devolve on the deputies of the diocese. For the

election to the catholicosate comes within the province of the electoral assembly, which is composed of religious heads and lay deputies who are nominated by the dioceses as a whole. The eight members of the synod and the seven oldest members of the congregation of Etchmiadzin have equal share in the voting. The final nomination of the catholicos is reserved for the czar, who chooses one of two candidates whose names are presented by the assembly.

The patriarchs of Constantinople and of Jerusalem are elected by the national assembly of the capital, of whom six-sevenths of the members belong to the laity. The catholicos of Sis and of Aghthamar are elected by the electoral councils, of which one-half are laymen. We see, therefore, by these examples, to what extent the lay element exercises its preponderating influence over ecclesiastical preferment.

The participation of the laity in ecclesiastical matters is not on that account the less efficacious. Although it is exercised under different forms, in accordance with the laws and customs of the countries in which Armenians have settled, yet the important principle of lay intervention is everywhere held in esteem. In Turkey each church is managed by a council or ephorate *(taghakan)* composed entirely of laymen, who are elected by the parish. On this council devolves the administration of the church, the school, and the domestic affairs of the community. Its management is controlled by a diocesan economic council *(tintessakan)* composed of laymen, which has power over the finances. In Russia the government permits the existence of lay councils *(ephorates),* but it has done away with the diocesan councils, whose prerogatives have been transferred to a synod and to consistories made up of ecclesiastics.

We will now consider to what extent the lay element takes a share in the administration of the general affairs of the nation. We know that the principle is to be reckoned from the earliest existence of the Church; but in 1860 it became the subject of reform after the promulgation of the *Sahmanadrouthiun* (regulation or constitution) which was sanctioned by the Ottoman government in 1863. By virtue of this constitution, the chief direction of affairs was entrusted to a national assembly invested with legislative powers and control, and to two councils, the one religious and the other civil, possessed of executive power, which assisted the patriarch in

the exercise of his administrative duties. These councils are, in their turn, assisted by many committees, which are appointed to take up severally the various questions concerning matrimonial disputes, public instruction, financial management, wills, the monasteries, and the chief charitable institution or national hospital. The national assembly is composed of one hundred and forty members, of whom six-sevenths are laymen elected by vote. The civil council comprises fourteen laymen, and the religious council the same number of ecclesiastics of all ranks, celibate or married. As to the two councils, they are elected directly by the assembly; and, when assembled altogether, they form a mixed council board, whose province extends over the administration in general. Matters of spiritual import are amenable to the religious council; others, such as finance and public instruction, to the civil council. These two councils perform their functions separately. Each committee is composed of seven members; those which are concerned with instruction, internal economy, and the hospital have none but laymen on them; these latter form merely the majority in the other committees, which have the adjudication of wills and the control of monasteries. The committee entrusted with judicial matters is composed of eight members, of whom half are laymen. The chief functions of the assembly are the election of patriarchs and of councils, the voting on the budget and estimates of supply, the discussion and preparation of special regulations, and taking cognisance of disputes among the various authorities, and of settling difficulties of an exceptional character. It should be added in passing that the national constitution has instituted a direct tax, which is assessed on each individual who possesses sufficient means; and the right of voting is subject to the payment of this tax. The proceeds of this tax are paid into the exchequer of the patriarchate.

In Turkey the diocesan administration is modelled on that of the chief administration of the patriarchate. What differences there are among the dioceses are due to their varying importance and extent. The number of members belonging to the general diocesan councils varies from twenty-one to seventy, the proportion in these of six-sevenths of the laity being maintained. The other councils and committees run on the same lines; and it seems unnecessary to enter into their details.

In Russia the lay element exercises no control over the management of the dioceses. The catholicosal synod and the diocesan consistories,

represented only by ecclesiastics, are confined to purely spiritual functions. The imperial government has let slip no opportunity to alienate its subjects from the chief administration of ecclesiastical institutions. It has not deemed it right to grant them privileges which the Ottoman sultans have conceded.

The dioceses of Egypt, Roumania, and Bulgaria, which are dependent on the patriarchate of Constantinople, follow the system in vogue in the latter, so far as that is compatible with the laws of their country. The dioceses of Persia, of Europe, and America, which are dependents of the see of Etchmiadzin, comply with the customs prevailing in the Caucasus.

From what has been said above, it will be inferred that, of all Christian communities, the Armenian Church is the one wherein the democratic spirit excels in all its vividness and truth. Sacerdotal exclusiveness, so fatal to the good-fellowship which should exist between the Church and the faithful, between the shepherd and his flock, is altogether alien to her being. This traditional participation of the lay element in church matters dates back to the earliest period of her history, and its roots are sunk deep into those beginnings which have been most pregnant with the welfare of Christianity. Thus the transactions of the national councils invariably testify that formerly princes and satraps, and, after them, the leading men and the deputies, in a word, the representatives of the people, have ever continued to take their place side by side with bishops and doctors in the councils. They are known to have taken an active part in all discussions bearing on questions of doctrine and discipline, and have then set their sign-manual at the foot of deeds and canons as effective members of councils. This old-established principle prevails even to this day in the customs of the nation, and it is by reason of it that the presence of the laity is justified in the ecclesiastical assemblies and councils. In making over to this element a large share in the administration of the Armenian Church, the two dangers which imperil the Western Church are averted: the first of these is known as clericalism; the other is indifference in the religious sphere.

CHAPTER XXXII

The Name of the Church

There is a generally prevalent custom for each Church to have an ethnographical name, combined with one of a doctrinal denomination: the first is derived from the country or the race; the second from the doctrinal principle she follows. Thus we say, the Greek Orthodox Church, the Latin Catholic Church, the Anglican Episcopal Church, the Scotch Presbyterian Church, and so on. Yet, with regard to the Armenian Church, no term has been hit upon which is in keeping with her doctrinal denomination. The Armenians make use of the ethnographic name of the Armenian Church *(Hai Yegueghetzi),* or the Church of Armenia or of the Armenians *(Haiastaniaitz* or *Haiotz Yegueghetzi).* The terms *holy (sourb), apostolic (arakelakari), orthodox (oughapar),* and other similar expressions which are usually current, have in fact no official authorisation.

Its doctrinal appellation dates from the Russian occupation, when the government of the czar resolved to impose a particular regulation. It was then considered necessary to apply a more specific identification to the name of the Church, as her ethnographic description alone appeared insufficient. It was at this period that the word *Lusavortchakan,* which literally means *Illuminatorian,* was placed in front to signify the Church's denomination, an expression which has, by analogy, been rendered by the term *Gregorian,* the name of St. Gregory the Illuminator. It is on this principle that the designation *Armeno-Gregorian* Church has been recorded in the Russian *pologenia* of 1836. It will be found to appear thus in the transactions of the synod of Etchmiadzin.

However, this nomenclature has not been welcomed by Armenian public opinion. Adherence to it tends to remove from the Church its apostolic character, giving it instead merely that of a Church founded in the fourth century. The Roman Catholics, who claim to constitute St. Grigor Lusavoritch into an adept of Rome, also repudiate the title, but on other grounds. Their scruples forbid them to allow to a Church which is held by them to be schismatic the name of a Roman Catholic. They have, therefore,

fashioned for their own use the name of *Etchmiadznakan,* which they have derived from the supreme see of Etchmiadzin. However, as will be readily believed, this appellation has found favour neither among the faithful of the Armenian Church, nor with foreign authors.

But, after all, seeing that so much stress is laid on the need of a doctrinal designation, could not that of *Oughapar (Orthodox) Church* be adopted, which would at least have the merit of corresponding with the Greek title of *Orthodox Church,* and that of the *Pravoslave Church* in Russia? While quite maintaining the similarity, it would, we should think, have the further merit, by the adoption of a name derived from its own language by each of the Churches, of characterising the distinction between them. Such a course presents, besides, nothing of an arbitrary nature, since it has already been resorted to in the *Almanach de Gotha* (1890, p. 949, and 1891, p. 1012).

Finally, it would be in no way an innovation, because the custom of retaining names belonging to nations, with their own peculiar pronunciation, without resorting to translation, is more common than one would suppose. In this way a mass of designations of Hebrew, Greek, and Arian origin retain their native form with but slight change. We should be complying with this practice if we were to adopt the expression *Oughapar Armenian Church.* It would have the double merit of indicating at the same time the special constitution of the national Church, and the bond which connects her with the group of orthodox Eastern Churches.

PART V

LITURGY

CHAPTER XXXIII

The Church Buildings

As the splendour of church buildings depends on the importance of the community, and, above all, on the liberality of those who make endowments, one cannot, therefore, expect to come across anything of magnificence in this class of possessions among the Armenians. This is not in the least surprising, if we remember the unenviable social conditions in which this nation has existed until the present time. It is not, therefore, from this point of view that the following account of its churches will be given. The only points to be considered here are their rites and their canonical practices.

The customary form of the sacred buildings of the nation is ordinarily rectangular. The high altar is invariably placed on the East side, in keeping with ancient directions, whereby it was expected that the faithful should, in their prayers, face towards that quarter of the horizon. Internally, the churches are portioned off into four divisions, in the direction of their length. First comes the vestibule, which was formerly separated from the nave by a wall, for which is substituted at the present time a high grating. Here remain the penitents and the catechumens during the celebration of divine service. Here, too, are recited the ordinary daily offices. The vestibule has not retained its primitive significance, yet the *grille* has been kept up as a survival of early canons.

After this comes the church, properly so called—that is, the nave, which is intended for the generality of the faithful. The women and the men are separated therein. Formerly this part of the building was exclusively reserved for men; women were obliged to ascend to the galleries, which were provided with a heavy trellis. In these days this custom is no longer in force in the town churches, but the separation of the sexes in the church is always indispensable[6]. During certain solemn occasions, at funerals and at the

[6] Where churches have been built in Western countries and their colonies, the practice of separating the sexes no longer exists. Moreover, seats are provided for the congregations in these churches, *vide infra.*

requiem commemorations, the clergy and the choristers advance into the centre of the nave and sing amidst the faithful.

Next comes the choir, which is raised by a step, and separated, across the entire breadth of the church, by a *grille,* breast high. The clergy and the choristers, divided into two groups, take their stand there, the one on the right and the other on the left, so as to take alternate turns in the singing of the psalms and the hymns.

The farthest part of the church forms a platform, to which access is given by two lateral flights of stairs of about four or five steps to each. In the middle and beneath the apse stands the high altar, which is composed of a base and a table in marble, and has been consecrated with the holy chrism. It is detached in such a way as to allow of an open space all round it. It is fitted with steps, on which are placed candelabra and ornaments of various kinds. Above the altar hangs a holy picture, which is invariably the representation of the Virgin and Child. As an exception, there are substituted for this, at the feasts of the Resurrection and of the Holy Cross, pictures suited to the solemnity of the day.

In order to follow national traditions, the churches should be surmounted with cupolas and bell-towers; but until lately the Turks had forbidden the custom, and it is only quite recently that they have relaxed their stringency in this respect. However, such an architectural taste cannot even then be indulged in without a special authorisation from the sultan. The shape of the cupolas is narrowed down to a point, like a pointed-shaped drum, rather calling to mind the headgear of the celibate clergy, the so-called *veghar.* What in particular arrests the notice of a stranger who visits these churches is their aspect of austere simplicity, which is in direct contrast with the profusion of ironwork and gilding to be found in Greek Orthodox churches. In these Armenian churches pictures are unusual, except over the altars, although they are never quite absent.

There is only one altar, where the one daily mass is performed. The two small altars usually to be seen in the side aisles are only placed there for decorative purposes. In the large cathedrals they are so constructed as to enable the divine sacrifice to be celebrated at them on certain days in the year; but when this takes place, the high altar remains unoccupied. When more than one mass is required, it is then necessary to connect the chapels

with the nave, so as to form, as it were, so many separate churches. However, an endeavour is always made to avoid a multiplication of masses on the same day. The chapels are only made use of to commemorate the festivals of the saints to whose name they are dedicated. Thus the churches of Galata and of Koumcapou, in Constantinople, each form three buildings in one, and all embrace precisely the same features. Such an arrangement was chosen to meet the want of the large number of the faithful, who but lately resided in these parts; but as the locality has now been to some extent abandoned, the number of masses has been reduced in those churches to what is absolutely necessary.

Indeed, the principle of having a daily mass has long since fallen into disuse. The liturgical canons only forbid its being performed on the five days (Monday to Friday) of each week in Lent, and in the *Aratchavor* (Fast of the Forerunner). Custom at the present time limits it to Saturdays and Sundays, as well as to feast days in the large churches. In rural parishes it is more uncommon for the mass to be said. But the daily recital of the offices is everywhere scrupulously observed.

Every church should have two vestries: one which opens to the right of the building, and contains the baptismal fonts; the other to the left, which is set apart for the keeping of vestments and articles intended for the services. The throne of the diocesan bishop has a permanent place only in the cathedral church. It is but a simple seat, raised by one or two steps, and occupying a position at the entrance to the choir, to the left, and facing the altar. It is not surmounted by a canopy, except in patriarchal churches and in the cathedrals of important dioceses. Neither chairs nor benches are placed at the disposal of the clergy, who seat themselves on carpets or hassocks within reach. The congregation, too, in like manner, remain standing, though the custom prevails in Turkey to follow the example of the clergy. But quite recently the use of benches has begun to spread in Constantinople and in the large towns. This example will, doubtless, before long, be imitated in other places.

The approach to the church is invariably by a courtyard, around which are ranged apartments intended for the use of the staff. In the first place there is the room called *Bankal,* where candles are sold, and where alms are received. Then come the chambers intended for the council of the ephorate

and the parochial chancery. Next to these are the rooms for the priests, both for the celebrant and for those employed in the service of the church. The parochial school is usually accommodated within the same enclosure. A fountain and closets for the general convenience are set up in a corner. All these buildings are always surrounded by a wall which forms an enclosure. The church and the out-buildings are in the privileged ownership of the community or of the parish.

CHAPTER XXXIV

The Ministers of Worship

We have already had occasion to draw the reader's attention to ministers of worship; first, in the chapter devoted to the sacraments, and then in the short description of the ecclesiastical hierarchy. We will, however, return to this subject for the purpose of explaining certain customs of the Armenian Church which are connected with the liturgy.

The several ranks in the hierarchic scale embracing the ecclesiastical staff are at the present time as follows: (1) clerks *(depir);* (2) deacons *(sarkavak);* (3) priests *(kahana* or *yeretz);* (4) archpriests *(avagueretz);* (5) archimandrites or doctors *(vardapet);* (6) bishops *(episcopos);* (7) patriarchs *(patriark);* and (8) catholicos.

By clerks are meant individuals who have received ordination of the four minor orders, that is to say, the orders of ostiarius (verger), reader, exorcist, and acolyte, which are no longer separately conferred. The sacristans and the precentors should as a rule be included in these orders, so as to connect them with the service of the church. The ordination which these receive in no way prevents them wearing lay dress and living in the world. While in church, they wear an ecclesiastical dress consisting of a long buttoned-up vestment, called *schapik* (shirt or surplice), which comes down to the feet. It can be made of any kind of cloth, linen, or velvet, according to fancy. The *humeral veil,* which is placed over it, covers the shoulders, the back, and the breast, and is often richly embroidered; it is made of a more costly material than the rest. Three crosses adorn the back and the two sides of the front. The humeral veil should properly be fitted on to the *schapik,* but, in contravention of regulations, it has become the custom in these days to wear it as a kind of cape.

The seminarists, at the time of their admittance, also receive the minor orders. They wear over the cassock a long black habit, open in front, which is called *verarkou;* it is a kind of loose oriental robe with flowing sleeves.

As we have already stated, deacons exist now only in the monasteries, that is to say, among the celibate clergy. Scarcely forty in number, they are

to be met with scattered among the religious institutions. The sub-diaconate is conferred on them at the same time as the diaconate, and their dress scarcely differs from that of other ecclesiastics. They wear the *pakegh,* a kind of black cap without a peak, resembling the *kamelafka* of the Greek clergy; it is only more shallow in shape, and the upper part is pointed. Within the church, their dress is the *schapik,* cut higher up, with the *ourar,* a stole of over three metres in length and between ten and fifteen centimetres wide, ornamented with three crosses. It is worn over the left shoulder, and its ends fall, both front and back, down to the feet. The same stole can be had longer, and then it hangs down over the two sides from the left shoulder, after being wound round once under the right arm-pit. The duties of a deacon are described, in the liturgical books. When there is no deacon, the priest does duty for him, assuming the dress suitable to that order. His chief functions are incensing, reading the gospel at the mass, and the solemn removal of the money from the offertory plates.

Married priests are recruited from all classes of society, but preference is given to precentors and to the masters of the school. But more often there is a succession from father to son in the priesthood. Mention could be made of certain families, amongst whom might be reckoned from twenty to thirty generations of priests. The conditions demanded of candidates, besides parochial election, are, acquaintance with ecclesiastical and liturgical matters, a steady and generally exemplary life; moreover, the consent of their wives. Each priest is canonically associated with one church, and he cannot be appointed to another charge without submitting himself afresh for election. The extent of their education is usually in proportion to the social and material conditions of the parish. Frequently the choice falls on those who are resident in the parish.

After their ordination they are subjected to a severe fast *(karassounk),* which lasts for forty days. They prepare themselves for their first mass by a life of retreat in the church, restricting themselves to a vegetable diet for twenty-four hours. During this time they devote themselves to the duties of their calling. Their wives *(yeretzkine),* on their part, observe in their homes the propriety of the customary abstinence. These latter enjoy a certain precedence in society. The life of priests is strictly the family life, with the limitation, of course, that their duties are their primary obligation. They may not, under any pretext, excuse themselves from performing their offices

in the church. With that exception, they may attend to their own domestic affairs, and even engage in some professional work within the limits of propriety. One week, or at least three days, before the celebration of the mass, they keep away from the married home, in order to pass the nights in the precincts of the church. Formerly their dress did not differ from that of the laity, with the exception of the black *verarkou,* which forms their distinctive badge; but gradually the ecclesiastical dress has become a necessity; the example was first set by the towns, and it has been copied by the villages. Besides this distinctive article of vestment, they wear a black cassock, and the *pakegh* of the same colour. In the villages cassocks of different colours may be seen, for the secular clergy are in no way restricted from following the common usages of the people.

Within the church they wear a plain black woollen cloak *(pilon)* for the usual offices. They are empowered to wear the *pilon* in flowered or coloured silk as a mark of honorary reward. Another distinction which is conferred on them is the right to wear a plain pectoral cross of gilded bronze. The sacerdotal vestments consist of a pluvial or chasuble *(schourtchar),* below which are the *schapik* or alb in white linen, the pectoral stole *(porourar);* a girdle *(goti)* and maniples *(bazpan)* on the fore-arms. Above the *schourtchar* there stands round the shoulders a large collar *(vakas),* upright and stiff. A round mitre *(saghavart)* is worn on the head, with ornamentation around it representing foliage, and surmounted with a little cross. During solemn offices the *schourtchar* takes the place of the *pilon.* It should be added for the sake of information that the number of married Armenian priests may be reckoned at a minimum of about four thousand.

The archpriests are a step above the priests, and the only point of distinction between them and the priests is that on them lies the obligation of superintending the spiritual administration of the church.

The celibate clergy have precedence over the married clergy to such a degree that the latter are obliged to give way to the veriest novice among the former. As we have shown above, the celibate clergy are ranked in three grades. Precedence among them is governed by their order in seniority, and takes no account of their particular grade. In external appearance, there is nothing to distinguish the celibate from the married priests. In the towns they wear the *pakegh* in black velvet, the upper portion being violet; but they

may wear it entirely of black. Their vestments are of the same colour. Within the church, their *pilon* is usually of black silk; those of the ordinary *vardapets* are flowered, while the superior rank of *vardapets* have theirs of violet silk. The sacerdotal vestments are identical with those of the priests; but they possess the right to bear the doctoral crosier. The pectoral crosses, conferred as a mark of distinction, are ornamented with precious stones. There is used in the Armenian Church a small hand cross of metal, having four arms of uniform length, with intervening rays, but without the figure of Christ; it has a metal handle, which is encased in some rich or embroidered stuff. In the centre of it a relic is placed. This cross, which is consecrated with the holy chrism by the same observances as the pictures and crosses placed over the altars, is taken in the hand when giving the benediction during the various ceremonies. The mitre of the *vardapets* is similar to that of the priests; when they are appointed to the management of a diocese, they are also at liberty to make use of the episcopal mitre within the limits of their jurisdiction. As regards the duties and the prerogatives of *vardapets,* sufficient has already been said in the chapter on the ranks of the hierarchy. The total number of celibate Armenian clergy, including bishops, does not exceed four hundred.

The usual dress of bishops scarcely differs from that of *vardapets;* they wear, in addition, the ring on the little finger of the right hand; only those of the rank of catholicos wear it on the ring finger. The mitre and the crosier, which are always richly ornamented, are like those used by the Latins. The omophorion or pallium is wider and longer than that used by other Christian denominations. It is more than four metres long, and from twenty-five to thirty centimetres wide; it is richly embroidered, and is made to pass over the back and breast in such a way that its ends reach down to the feet. The pectoral cross peculiar to bishops, called *panague* (from the Greek *Panaia*), is in the shape of an oval badge, ornamented with precious stones, whereon the picture of the Virgin or of Christ is set. As we have already pointed out, this custom has been borrowed from the Greek Orthodox Church.

Besides the appointed throne in the cathedral, bishops have the right to a movable seat on the platform of the altar for the purpose of preaching; or in the middle of the church during the offices. Outside their own dioceses they have no such right to a movable seat. In kissing the hand of bishops,

Armenians neither approve of the kneeling attitude of the Latins, nor the adorations of the Greeks; a uniform simplicity governs all their ceremonies. The title of archbishop *(arkepiscopos)* is merely honorary, and confers no right of precedence; incumbents of this rank are subject solely to their order of seniority.

The outward privileges of the patriarchs of Jerusalem and of Constantinople consist in their right of precedence, which they retain even after resignation, and also in the honours connected with their position.

To the dignity of catholicos are attached certain special honours, which become their due on receiving consecration with the holy chrism. It is worthy of notice that the pope of Rome and the oecumenical patriarch of Constantinople undergo no consecration, but they attain to the supreme pontificate simply by means of election and of entering into possession. The Armenian catholicos has, for outward symbol, the *konker* (epigonation), reminiscent of the pastoral napkin, which they wear at the waist or on the left side. At the time of their consecration the head is covered with a large veil *(kogh)* of thick silk, lined and embroidered. On days of great ceremony this veil is solemnly carried in front of them. The little cross of diamonds which the catholicos of Etchmiadzin fastens on his *veghar* is a decoration conferred on him by the emperor of Russia. The prerogatives of catholicos, as well as their mutual relations, have already been explained in the chapter on the Armenian hierarchy.

CHAPTER XXXV

The Obligations of Worship

In the matter of devotion, the faithful Armenian is not bound by any prescribed rules, the breach of which would lay him under, the ban of sin, whether mortal or venial. The Church contents herself with enjoining what is expedient, and shows the way for carrying out her precepts; she invests her exhortations with the spirit of gentleness, and strives to win over the faithful by the pomp of her ceremonies. In short, she does not say that to neglect her precepts is to make a man guilty of sin.

The keeping of the Lord's Day holy, by abstaining from all servile work, is one of her precepts. Following primitive custom, the Sunday begins on Saturday, and terminates on the evening of the next day, that is, from sunset to sunset. Every pursuit is termed servile work the end of which is gain. Indeed, the ecclesiastical authorities never refrain from encouraging the performance of manual work by the people, when such work has for its purpose charity or piety. In aid of works of this character, therefore, they are asked to labour gratuitously on Sundays. Moreover, in any pressing work of recognised public utility, labour is permitted.

The festivals prescribed by the Church are very few in number; for those of the Transfiguration, the Assumption, and the Exaltation of the Cross are transferred to the nearest Sunday. Certain other festivals which are celebrated at the present time on fixed days, such as the Theophany, the Purification, and the Annunciation, were not in former times celebrated in this way; others, such as the Nativity, the Presentation, and the Conception of the Virgin, are only to be reckoned from later centuries; and in this we have a clear proof that the Armenian Church endeavours to diminish the number of days wherein no work is done.

There is no material condition attached to the obligation of Sunday devotions. As there is only one mass in each church, and this is always chanted, it cannot be possible to require, as the bounden duty of the faithful, attendance at the entire mass, or at any fixed portion of it. The actual presence of the faithful during a suitable period, whether at the offices or at

the mass, is sufficient for the fulfilment of his devotional duty. Even if he has attended the Saturday vespers, it is looked upon as an act of devotion on the Lord's Day. As the offices and the mass are of equal prescriptive merit, it happens that the faithful are usually most regular at the offices of the prayer-book.

The chief prayer in use is the *Hair-mer* (Our Father), or Paternoster, in the literary or classical language. The *Ave-Maria* and the devotion of the Rosary are unknown among Armenians, although those observances, which are peculiar to the Latin Church, have been adopted by the Armeno-Catholics. The people repeat the formula *Ter-oghormia* (Lord, have mercy) as often as they please, even up to a hundred times. Passages of the offices are also known to the faithful by heart. Prayer-books, apart from those of the liturgy, are not in use; the people follow the liturgy, and mentally or tacitly accompany the hymns and the psalms which are sung by the choir, and they add their *amen* to the prayers said by the priests. To assist them in this accompaniment, the principal portions of the offices have been published for their use in the literary language, with translations facing these, in the vulgar tongue.

The religious spirit, although signs of its enfeeblement are apparent in our time, has still its hardy roots embedded within the souls of men. Most of the artisans and labourers, on their way in the mornings to their daily toil, do not fail to enter the churches which lie on their road. They invariably begin their day's work by a brief devotional act. In the towns of Turkey the churches devote one day in the week to the blessing of water with a special ritual. The relics of the Holy Cross and of the saints are immersed in vessels filled with water; more frequently, the relics of St. Gregory the Illuminator, of St. John the Forerunner (Baptist), of St. James of Nisibis, or of St. George the martyr. On these occasions there is a great gathering of the faithful. Water thus blessed is used for drinking purposes, and even for ablutions, for popular fervour endows it with curative virtues. This rite is known under the name of *khatchanguiste* (station of the Cross). For private prayers there is also used a book called Narek, composed by the monk St. Grigor of Narek († 1003). This collection, which is written in a florid and sublime style, is regarded as a potent talisman against all kinds of dangers.

It is required by ancient custom that the faithful should submit to the sacrament of confession and partake of the sacrament of communion on the occasion of the five great festivals of the Theophany, the Resurrection (Easter), the Assumption, the Transfiguration, and the Exaltation of the Cross. The obligation on the two last has for a long time fallen into disuse; but on the other three occasions it is always in favour among the devout. The greater mass of the people faithfully observe the Paschal (Easter) communion. The fast which is a preparation for it begins at bed-time, or rather at the end of the night's sleep, without regard to the hour of midnight.

A pilgrimage to the Holy Places always affords an honourable possibility for the pious faithful to take advantage of, in order to resort to the Holy Sepulchre and those scenes which have been hallowed by the presence of the Redeemer. The most celebrated places of national pilgrimage are the holy cathedral of Etchmiadzin, the cathedrals of *Sourb Karapet* (St. John the Forerunner) at Mouche and at Caesarea, and the sanctuary of *Tcharkhapan* (Our Lady the Reservatrix) at Armache, near the town of Ismidt.

Lighting candles before pictures, pouring oil into church lamps, gifts of incense for liturgical purposes, presenting to the church's articles used in public worship and sacerdotal vestments, all form a part of the ordinary and customary acts of devotion. Signs of the cross and kneeling or adoration are very often resorted to during the prayers. The sign of the cross is made from left to right, as among the Latins. Proper genuflections consist in bending both knees to the ground and then in inclining the body forward to the ground in embrace. But as European costume has at present been generally adopted, and does not lend itself easily to such a movement, a simple inclination of the body, without giving up the traditional act of kneeling, is considered sufficient.

Abstinence days are many in the Armenian calendar. In the first place, two days in the week, Wednesday and Friday, are devoted to abstinence. The Paschal abstinence is observed for forty-eight consecutive days, from Shrove-Monday to Holy Saturday. In addition, there are ten weeks of abstinence in the year, or nearly a week in a month; each week embracing a period of five or six days. On these occasions only nourishment of a vegetable kind is permitted, for everything which belongs to the animal kingdom is regarded as meat diet; honey is the only exception. Milk diet and fish are allowed only

on the eve of the five great festivals, and after the mass of the day. A prescribed dispensation from abstinence is allowed during the forty days following Easter, and during the octave of the Theophany. Altogether there may be reckoned to be a total of a hundred and sixty days of abstinence during the year.

The fast, in addition to abstinence, is prescribed only in Lent, during the five days of the week, from Monday to Friday, and in the week of the *Aratchavor.* Nowadays, the fast—that is, abstinence from all food—is kept from early morning until midday; formerly it lasted until vespers. Notwithstanding the fervent zeal displayed by the Church and the faithful Armenians in holding to this custom, which is taken as a matter of devotion, its observance is looked upon, nevertheless, as an external law, that is, one of supererogation.

CHAPTER XXXVI

The System of the Calendar

We will not linger by explaining the civil calendar in use among the early Armenians, nor by reviewing the calendar of *Haika schirtchan* (cycle of Orion), which embraces a period of 1,460 years, in addition to one bissextile year. Neither do we propose to explain their year of twelve months, which is uniformly composed of thirty days in each, with five days intercalated. The Julian calendar, commonly described under the name of *Old Style,* is the one which the Armenians of Russia and Turkey, and even those who have emigrated and are scattered over Europe and America, follow at the present time. This calendar is now well understood, and it is known that from the beginning of the twentieth century the dates of this calendar are thirteen days behind the dates of the calendar in use in Western Europe, known as the Gregorian calendar, or the *New Style.* We will rather attempt to explain the system adopted in the celebration of Armenian festivals. Entire Christendom has taken solar computation as forming the basis for fixing days for her festivals, so that a certain day of a certain month is always devoted to the festival of a certain saint. Only the festivals of Eastertide follow the lunar computation, but these are adjusted by a special method to fit in with the general computation.

The system adopted in the Armenian calendar for the celebration of feasts is not based on the days of the month, but on those of the week. It thus constitutes a calendar which is peculiarly hebdomadal in character. In the whole year there are only fourteen celebrations which fall on certain fixed days of the month, and this practice has been in force for the last few centuries. These are the nine days of the Theophany (from January 5th to 13th), and the five festivals of the Virgin, viz. the Purification (February 14th), the Annunciation (April 7th), the Nativity (September 8th), the Presentation (November 21st), and the Conception (December 9th). The remainder of the year is arranged according to the successive order of weeks and the days of each week.

The starting-point is from Easter-day, which is always calculated in accordance with the old style. In the first place, by calculating backwards from Easter-day, a pause is made at the tenth Sunday. Of these ten weeks which precede the Easter festival, the first is devoted to the abstinence of the *Aratchavor* (which is preparatory), the two following weeks are taken up with the festivals of saints; the six other weeks constitute Lent, and the tenth is Holy Week. A period of fourteen weeks is then counted after Easter; on the fourteenth Sunday falls the festival of the Transfiguration, which lasts for three days. The first seven weeks constitute the fifty days which separate the Resurrection from the Pentecost; the eighth week is the octave of Pentecost; the five others which follow are taken up with festivals of saints; at the fourteenth the abstinence for the Transfiguration begins. This series of twenty-four weeks, or of one hundred and seventy-one days, constitutes the paschal period, and comprises nearly half the year. It is observed always in the same manner, and in accordance with the order of the days of the several weeks.

It should be noticed here that the Armenian computation for Easter is identically the same as that of the Greeks, with the sole difference that, four times in a cycle of five hundred and thirty-two years, the two Easters occur with a week's interval between them. This deviation is caused by the difference between the epacts of the Alexandrine calendar of Eas, which the Armenians follow, and the Byzantine calendar of Irion, adopted by the Greeks. On the four dates above mentioned, the full moon, according to Irion, makes its appearance on Saturday, April 5th, and on the following day, the 6th, Easter is celebrated; whilst, according to Eas, it is on Sunday, April 6th, that the full moon should appear; and consequently the festival is put off to the 13th day of the same month. It is what the Armenians call *Dzrazadik* (erroneous Easter). This difference has always been the cause of strife between the Greeks and the Armenians, especially at Jerusalem. The last *dzrazadik* took place in the year 1824; but in consideration of the close bonds of friendship which existed at this period between the Russian government and the see of Etchmiadzin it was considered politic to let the occasion pass unnoticed, and the Armenians celebrated their Easter on April 6th, simultaneously with the Greeks and the Russians. This deviation will recur again in the year 2071, unless the question of *dzrazadik* has been definitely settled by that time.

In returning to the Armenian calendar, it should be observed that the remainder of the year, outside the period of the twenty-four weeks, constitutes a second extra-paschal period, divided into five parts, which are arranged in connection with the fixed festivals, whereby the calculation of these five portions is regulated. Four of these portions comprise the festival of the Assumption, on the nearest Sunday to August 15th, either before or after; the festival of the Exaltation of the Cross, on the Sunday nearest to September 14th; the commencement of Advent, on the Sunday nearest to November 18th; and the festival of the Theophany, on January 6th. There is also a portion which varies each year in duration, making in all five small portions, and these are made to counterbalance each other.

The daily festivals are regulated on the same hebdomadal system, that is to say, in the order of the days of the week. The variations in the number of weeks belonging to each of the above small periods necessitate the occasional transposition of a certain number of festivals. This also applies to the festivals which come after the end and before the beginning of the paschal season. For the movable character of the Easter festival, which permits of a difference up to thirty-five days, brings at times the beginning of the paschal period as near to the Theophany as the end of it is removed from the Assumption, and *vice versa;* and the festivals of these two partial periods are made to change their places as the necessity arises.

The essential characteristic of the hebdomadal system is such that it allows even the nature of the festivals to be regulated according to the days of the week. Sundays are exclusively dedicated to the Resurrection and all other dominical festivals. Wednesdays and Fridays are reserved for the offices of penitence. The festivals of saints can only be celebrated on the four remaining days, that is, Mondays, Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Saturdays. The days for penitence and those devoted to saints can be converted into dominical festival days by interrupting their appropriate services. Mondays, Tuesdays, and Thursdays can be converted for the office of penitence, but this cannot be done with Saturdays. It will be seen clearly by the details given above that the festival days of saints can be changed annually, and consequently a special calendar has to be prepared each year, regulated by the day which is assigned for Easter. As it is the intention of this work to give the reader a mere account of the subject, what has already been said must suffice to explain the position.

CHAPTER XXXVII

The Dominical Festivals

The limits of space prevent any digression into details concerning the celebration of festivals. Under the name of dominical *(terounakan)* festivals, the Armenian Church includes all solemnities in honour of Jesus Christ, the Holy Spirit, the Holy Virgin, the Holy Cross, and the Holy Church. Neither the commemoration of a saint nor the penitentiary offices can be associated with these festivals; for the offices of the day in connection with them are exclusively devoted to the divine mystery. They may be divided into three groups, according as they have for their object the Redeemer, His divine Mother, or the Redemption itself.

In the first group, the festival of the Theophany comes first, wherein are united all the mysteries which preceded the gospel life of Christ. There are thus brought together into this one solemnity the Annunciation, the Birth, the Adoration of the Magi, the Baptism, and the revelations by the Jordan. It was in this spirit that the Theophany was formerly celebrated by the ancient Churches; and it was only later that the Syrian, Latin, and Greek Churches changed the Theophany into two distinct festivals, viz. those of the Birth, or Christmas, and of the Epiphany. But the Armenian Church has maintained the tradition intact. By her, the Theophany is celebrated on January 6th, taking in the eve the 5th, and the octave until the 13th.

Holy Week, which forms an octave of dominical festivals, comes next. It commences on the eve of Palm Sunday, which is dedicated to the miracle of the raising of Lazarus, and ends on Holy Saturday, thus bringing to a close, by the placing of the Body into the sepulchre, the commemoration of the mysteries of the Redemption.

The Resurrection is solemnised during thirty-nine days, and the Ascension for ten full days. The fiftieth day ushers in the Pentecost and the festival of the Holy Spirit, which lasts seven days. Thus a cycle of sixty-four consecutive days of dominical festivals are accounted for, and during this period no commemoration of saints may be observed.

The Transfiguration falls on the seventh Sunday after the Pentecost, thus bringing the paschal period to a close, the Monday and the Tuesday following being attached to it. It is also described under the name of *Vardavar* (festival of roses), which has been adopted by Christian tradition from the name of a pagan festival.

To complete this short survey of the solemnities observed in honouring the Redeemer, it must be remembered that all the Sundays in the year are dedicated to the Resurrection, when there is no other dominical festival connected with them. To the Sundays in Lent is attributed the character of expectation for the Resurrection.

The second group of dominical festivals is connected with the person of the Blessed *Astouadzadzine* (Mother of God), for whom are used the same form of offices as is devoted to Jesus Christ. The chief of these is the Assumption, which is taken to mean her sleep and her exaltation through the divine vision. It has already been stated that this festival is observed on the Sunday nearest August 15th, that is, between the 12th and 18th of this month; it lasts nine days, until the second Monday inclusive. It is only since the fifth century that the Purification and the Annunciation, on February 14th and on April 7th respectively, began to be celebrated. The festival of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin, which is observed on September 8th, was first introduced in the thirteenth century. Those of the Presentation (November 21st) and of the Conception (December 9th) only date from the seventeenth century. The commemorations of the invention of the veil and of the girdle of the Blessed Virgin trace their origin from the end of the eighteenth century. These are celebrated on the sixth Sunday after the Pentecost and on the third after the Assumption.

To the last group belong the festivals of the Holy Cross and of the Holy Church. The most important are the festival of the Exaltation, which falls on the Sunday between September 11th and 17th, and that of the Invention, which falls on the seventh Sunday after the Exaltation; the Apparition of the Cross at Jerusalem, in 351, is observed on the fifth Sunday after Easter, and the Apparition at Varak, near Van, in 653, on the third Sunday after the Exaltation. The festival of the Exaltation lasts an entire week, the others, for one day only.

The festivals of the Holy Church, which is a manifest token of the Redemption, are also observed. They take up chiefly the Tuesday, the Wednesday, and the Thursday of the week of the Exaltation. Represented in this group are the dedication of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre (on the eve of the Exaltation); the dedication of the cathedral of Etchmiadzin[7] (on the eve of the Assumption); the vision of the Descent of the Only Begotten, which appeared to St. Gregory, the Illuminator (on the third Sunday after the Pentecost); the commemoration of the Ark of the Covenant, or of the establishment of the Old Testament as a prophetic witness to the New (on the eve of the Transfiguration); New Sunday, or the Calling of the Gentiles (on the second Sunday after Easter); and lastly, the commemoration of the first Church of the Guest-Chamber (on the third Sunday after Easter).

A complete list of the dominical festivals will be found in detail below. At these, the offices and the mass are entirely given over to divine mysteries, to the exclusion of any commemoration of the saints:—

Nine days for the Theophany.
Eight days for the Holy Week.
Thirty-nine days for the Resurrection.
Ten days for the Ascension.
Seven days for the Pentecost.
Three days for the Transfiguration.
Nine days for the Assumption.
Seven days for the other festivals of the Blessed Virgin.
Seven days for the various festivals of the Holy Cross.
Nine days for the various festivals of the Holy Church.
Thirty Sundays having no other festival assigned to them.

The above make up a total of one hundred and thirty-six days in the year.

As the days on which the commemoration of saints should not be observed have been enumerated here, it is right to add a few words of explanation on the subject of the duration of penitence or liturgical abstinence *(pahk)*. It is yet another peculiarity of the Armenian rite that on

[7] The name Etchmiadzin, the seat of the supreme catholicos, means in Armenian "the Descent of the Only Begotten."

certain days the offices and the mass are set apart exclusively for prayers of penitence and for the commemoration of the dead. This is usually done on the Wednesdays and Fridays of each week, except when dominical festivals fall on those days; besides, on the days in Lent, with the exception of the Saturdays and Sundays; on the five days of the four weeks which precede the great festivals; and lastly, in the weeks in Advent, and in that of the *Aratchavor.*

Usually, the offices of penitence or of abstinence are accompanied with abstinence from animal food; but this rule admits of some exceptions. An established dispensation is granted on the Wednesdays and Fridays during the forty paschal days, and during the octave of the Theophany. Outside this period, abstinence on Wednesdays and Fridays is indispensable, even when dominical festivals fall on them. Abstinence in the Pentecostal week is obligatory, even though it be the dominical festival of the Holy Spirit. The weeks devoted to abstinence in the autumn and in the winter, and those preparatory to the great festival of the Illuminator, are set apart for the commemoration of saints, and in these the rule of abstinence is not disturbed. The same rule applies to the Saturdays and Sundays in Lent, and to the abstinence week of the Theophany.

It has already been stated elsewhere that the days devoted to abstinence number one hundred and sixty. One hundred and seventeen of these days are devoted to liturgical abstinence, in which is included Lent. If we add to this latter number the hundred and thirty-six days set apart for dominical festivals, we get a total of two hundred and fifty-three days; there only remain a hundred and twelve days for the commemorative festivals of saints, which have necessarily to be grouped together. It is very rare to meet, in the Armenian calendar, with days which are set apart for the commemoration of one single saint only.

CHAPTER XXXVIII

The Commemoration of Saints

Without any intention of reviewing the Armenian martyrology, which would take us too far from the scope of our work, we think it would serve a useful purpose to give a short summary of the hagiography of that Church. This study will, besides, help to shed additional light on her relations with other Churches, and at the same time give a clear indication of the period when her liturgical institutions were definitely determined. In giving this summary, it will be necessary to adhere to chronological order, commencing with:

Celestial Spirits—Only one festival is devoted to them; the archangels Michael and Gabriel alone are mentioned therein by name.

Old Testament—The saints of the Old Testament are largely represented in the calendar. One festival is dedicated to all the patriarchs. Among those who lived before the flood, the memory of Adam, Abel, Seth, Enos, Enoch, and Noah is evoked by name. Next are the patriarchs who came after the flood: Melchizedek, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Joseph, Moses, Aaron, and Eleazar. The period of the Judges is represented by the names of Joshua, Barak, Gideon, Jephthah, Samson, and Samuel. The roll is accompanied with the formula, *And the other patriarchs.* Job the Righteous is the subject of a special festival.

In the line of prophets are noticed David, Elisha, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Daniel, Ezekiel, and Esdras (Ezra). The twelve minor prophets are grouped together in one combined celebration. The memory of Zechariah, one of the twelve, is accorded an additional festival, on account of the removal of his relics to Armenia. The Ascension of the Prophet Elijah is only accorded a bare mention.

The martyrs of the Old Testament are honoured in like fashion. These are the Three Youths cast into the furnace at Babylon, the priest Eleazar, and the widow Samounie and her seven sons (adherents of the Maccabees).

Contemporaries of Jesus—Among the saints who were contemporaneous with Jesus are mentioned the Innocents of Bethlehem; Joachim and Anna, the parents of Mary; Zacharias, the father of John the Baptist; Joseph, the husband of Mary; and John the Baptist. In honour of these, four festivals are celebrated during the year.

New Testament—As we come to the saints of the New Testament, we find, first of all, the collective festival of the thirteen apostles, among whom St. Paul is included; then there are festivals specially devoted to them, at which two at a time are associated. As regards the seventy disciples, one general festival celebrates their memory. Certain special days are set apart for the commemoration of a few of these by name, on the understanding that they belong to that body. In this category may be placed James and Simon, the brothers of Jesus; the evangelists Mark and Luke; the deacons Stephen and Philip; the disciples Lazarus, Ananias, John Mark, and Barnabas. To these should be added Joseph of Arimathaea, and the centurion Longinus, who were witnesses of the Passion, and the centurion Cornelius.

Among the disciples of St. Paul, the memory is honoured of Timothy, Titus, Silas, Sylvanus, Onesimus, with the formula added thereto, *And other disciples.* In this group are also included the learned doctors Hierotheus or Rheteus the Athenian, and Dionysius the Areopagite.

A general festival is also dedicated in the calendar to holy women *(Yughaber)* who brought unguents. At the head of these figures Mary Magdalene. Another festival is devoted to the sisters of Lazarus. Connected with this group are the woman martyr Thecla, a disciple of St. Paul; and the virgin Hermonia, daughter of the deacon Philip.

The calendar also makes mention of many martyrs and several confessors of the faith who are revered by the other Churches; all these, however, are anterior to the time when disputes became rife, and caused the disruption of the Universal Church. The names of these saints, which we are about to give, though they may appear dry reading, nevertheless have their use from the point of view of the historical relationship between the Churches. For the sake of lucidity, we will observe the order of the various Churches and of the centuries to which these saints are traced back.

Church of Antioch—2nd Century: the bishop Ignatius and the virgin Christine. 3rd Century: the aged Barlaam and the bishop Babylas and his disciples. 4th Century: the bishop Meletius; the priests Lucian, Theodoret, Eugene, and Macarius; the deacon Cyril; the precentor Romanus of Emessa; the martyrs Artemius, the Iberian and his companions, Hysichius and Christopher; and the women martyrs Callinice and Acylinea. 5th Century: Simon Stylites.

Church of Cilicia—3rd Century: the martyrs Callinicus, Diomed, Cosmo, and Damien, Taragus and his companions, and the woman martyr Pelagia.

Church of Mesopotamia—3rd Century: the bishop Barsame of Edessa. 4th Century: the learned doctors James of Nisibis and Ephraim the Syrian; the abbot Marcellus; the martyrs Sergius and Bacchus, Gurias and his companions, and the virgin Phebronia. 5th Century: the bishop Maruthas.

Church of Jerusalem—4th Century: the patriarch Cyril, the bishop Judas-Cyril and his mother, Anna, and the anchorite Romanus. 5th Century: the patriarch John.

Church of Cyprus—5th Century: the bishop Epiphan.

Church of Alexandria—2nd Century: the virgin Eugenia, her parents, and her brothers. 3rd Century: the martyr Antonin. 4th Century: the patriarchs Peter and Athanasius; the deacon Absalom; the martyrs Varus, Theophilus of Libya, Mennas of Egypt, Mennas of Alexandria and his companions, and the virgin Catherine. 5th Century: the patriarch Cyril. We come next to the abbots Antoine and Onyphrius and a group of thirteen anchorites of the Thebaid, who are mentioned by name, with the addition, *And others.*

Church of Ethiopia—5th Century: the martyr Kharitas and his ten thousand companions.

Church of Caesarea—2nd Century: the martyr Romulus. 3rd Century: the martyrs Polyeuctus, Mercurius, and Mamas. 4th Century: the bishops Basil the Great and Gregory of Nyssa, and the martyrs Gordius, Eudoxius and his companions, and Andreas and his legion.

Church of Sebaste—3rd Century: the bishop Gregory of Neo-Caesarea. 4th Century: the bishops Blasius and Athenagenas with their companions;

the forty martyrs of Sebaste, the forty-five martyrs of Nicopolis, the two Theodores, and the martyrs Severien and Eustratius with their companions.

Church of Lycaonia—3rd Century: the martyrs Triphon and Philictimon. 4th Century: the martyr Theoditon and his companions, the woman martyr Juliette and her son, and the virgin Marguerite.

Church of Pontus—2nd Century: the bishop Phocas. 3rd Century: the martyr Acacius. 4th Century: the martyrs Valerius, Candidus, and Aquilas.

Church of Ephesus—2nd Century: the bishop Polycarp and the martyrs of Smyrna. 3rd Century: the priest Pion, the martyr Themistocles, and the Seven Sleepers. 4th Century: the bishops Nicolas of Myra and Myron of Crete, and the martyr Adoctus.

Church of Constantinople—4th Century: the patriarchs Mitrophanes, Alexander, Paul the Confessor, and Gregory the Theologian; the notaries Marcian and Martyron; the emperors Constantine and Theodosius; the empress Helena; the virgin Euphemia; and the mendicant John. 5th Century: the patriarch John Chrysostom and the virgin Euphrasia.

Church of Thessaly—4th Century: the bishop Irenaeus of Sirmium, the priest Mocimas, and the martyr Demetrius.

Church of Galatia—3rd Century: the martyr Eleutherius. 4th Century: the bishop Clement, the priest Basiliscus, the martyrs Plato and Thioditus, the virgin Barbara, and the seven virgin martyrs.

Church of Bythinia—3rd Century: the martyr Quadratus. 4th Century: the bishops Antimus and Theopompus; the priests Ermolaus and Clericus; the martyrs George, Pantaleon, Anicetus, Photin, Adrian and his wife, Eulampius and his sister, Theonas, Indus, Domnas, Bassus and his three companions, Babylas and his disciples, as well as the twenty thousand victims burnt alive in the church of Nicomedia; and the virgins Julienne and Basilissa.

Church of Rome—2nd Century: the bishops Pancratius of Taormina and Irenaeus of Lyons, the martyr Eustathius and his family, and the woman martyr Sophia and her daughters. 3rd Century: the patriarch Stephen and his companions, the martyr Callistratus and his companions, and the

mendicant Alexian. 4th Century: the pontiff Sylvester and the bishop Januarius.

Church of Africa—3rd Century: the bishop Cyprian and the virgin Justine.

Church of Persia—4th Century: the bishops Mark, Melecus, and Acephsimus; the priests Joseph and Buras; the deacons Ayithalas and Senes; the martyrs Sergius, his son and his companions. 5th Century: the deacon Benjamin and the martyrs Ormisde, Sayen, and Jakovik. 6th Century: the priest Anastasius and the martyr Abdulmessih.

We have reserved to the last the roll of saints belonging properly to the *Armenian Church,* and among these there is one only, the patriarch Gregory, the Illuminator, who has been recognised by the Greek and Latin communions. The Armenian Church has set apart for him three festivals, of which one is authoritatively enjoined.

1st Century—The bishop Addeus of Edessa, the king Abgar, and the princess Sandoukhte.

2nd Century—The martyrs Oski and his four companions, and Soukias and his eighteen companions.

4th Century—The virgins Rhipsime and her thirty-three companions, Gaiane and her two companions, Nouna and Mana; the patriarchs Aristakes, Vertanes, Houssik, and Nerses; the bishops Grigoris, Daniel, and Khath; the king Tiridates; the queen Aschkhena; the princess Khosrovidoukhte; the anchorites Antoine and Kronides; and the martyrs Stephen of Ulnia (Zeytoun) and his companions.

5th Century—The patriarchs Isaac and Joseph; the great learned doctor Mesrop; the bishops Isaac and Thathik; the learned translators Elisha, Moses, and David; the priests Leontius, Mouschegh, Arschene, Samuel, Abraham, and Khorene; the deacons Katchatch and Abraham; the martyrs Atom and his legion, Vardan and his thousand and thirty-five companions; the anchorites Thathoul, Varus, and Thomas; and the woman martyr Suzanne.

6th Century—The seven anchorites Khotadjarak, and the martyrs Grigor-Rajik and Adeodatus (Astouadzatour-Mapod).

7th Century—The martyr David of Douine.

8th Century—The prince Vahan of Golthn, the satraps Sahak and Hamazasb Ardzrounis, and the patriarch Hovhannes III of Otzoun.

9th Century—The martyr princes Isaac and Joseph.

10th Century—The learned doctor Grigor of Narek.

12th Century—The patriarch Nerses IV Schinorhali, and the martyr Goharin and his companions.

14th Century—The learned doctor Hovhannes of Orotn.

15th Century—The learned doctor Grigor of Tathev.

In closing this list, a rite which is peculiar to the Armenian Church should be mentioned. Three special festivals have been instituted by her for commemorating the holy Councils of Nicaea, of Constantinople, and of Ephesus.

It should be noticed that the saints which belong to other Churches, and who are subjects of veneration in the Armenian Church, lived prior to the middle of the fifth century. They have the claim, therefore, to be really considered as belonging, in common, to the Universal Church. The number of saints admitted to religious veneration after that period is no more than a dozen, and on the sole ground that their merits were universally recognised.

PART VI

LITERATURE

CHAPTER XXXIX

A General Survey

We have already had occasion to notice briefly, in the course of this work, the subject of Armenian literature. Our intention in recurring to it here is merely to be allowed to draw the reader's attention to its eminently religious character. If it be true that there is a close correlation between the life of a nation and the literary expression of its ideas, it cannot be denied that the ecclesiastical character which permeates Armenian literature has contributed towards the preservation of the national consciousness.

The political life of this nation has, for many centuries, been extinct. In consequence of the constant emigration of her people, the nation has even been deprived of a self-centred existence; and yet, though scattered and reduced in number, she is still found to be upholding her name, her language, and her traditions. It may even be added that, at the moment these lines are being written, she shows evident signs of perfect vitality. This astonishing phenomenon of survival can only be explained as being due to the influencing power of her language and her written liturgy—that imponderable power which has resisted the action of time and the vicissitudes of Asiatic upheavals. Sentiment and affection are, in themselves, too transient and precarious to ensure a practical and lasting existence to collective bodies of humanity. Some force that is ever active is an indispensable adjunct for maintaining cohesion between the members of such bodies. Such a force Armenia has drawn from her literature, which has supplied her with a rallying-point when all her political bonds were stripped from her.

There is something providential in the fact that the early dawn of her literature was precisely coincident with the moment when she was being made bereft of her political life. St. Sahak and St. Mesrop appear to have had a foreknowledge of the national danger when they created the Armenian alphabet. To these two ecclesiastics, whose talents bear witness to their spiritual earnestness, we are indebted for this marvellous invention, which has been so prolific in consequences.

It has given to the Church, in the first place, a language for her rites, and a ritual of her own—conditions which are all indispensable to her existence. It has obtained for the race which it has been instrumental in gathering into the national fold the means of protecting and nourishing, for an indefinite period, its social vitality. It is through it that the individual has been able to retain and improve his identity in a manner so strenuous as to be capable of averting the dangers which have periodically threatened the complete extinction of the nation.

In its development Armenian literature has scarcely ceased to present the same religious character which distinguished its beginnings. Armenian writers are agreed in saying that it has had a golden age and a silver age; but opinions vary as to the exact periods to which these two ages should be assigned. However, it would seem to be possible to localise these periods between the fifth and the twelfth centuries. But it is worthy of notice that, during this long span of eight hundred years, only two laymen, prince Grigor Maguistrus and the physician Mekhitar of Her, can be counted among the fifty known writers. Schapouh Bagratouni, who lived in the ninth century, is also mentioned; but his history, which was written in the common dialect, has not come down to us.

This literature is, for the most part, composed of handbooks for the Church, such as the translation of the Bible and the rituals, which are written in the purest classical language, in contradistinction to what is seen elsewhere, when the sacred books give tokens of the decadence of the language. Alongside of this class of work, the collection of the Church Fathers may be mentioned. Nearly all these are models of a lofty style, and they include the translations of the entire works of Ignatius of Antioch, Irenaeus of Lugdunum, Gregory of Neo-Caesarea, Athanasius of Alexandria, Epiphanius of Cyprus, Eusebius of Caesarea, Proclus of Constantinople, Cyril of Jerusalem, Basil of Caesarea, Gregory of Nazianzen, Severien of Emessa, Gregory of Nyssa, John Chrysostom, and Ephraim the Syrian. Members of the clergy also translated at that time the works of the philosophers—Aristotle, Plato, Dionysius, Justinus, Porphyry, Philo, Aristides, Pisides. Thus the Church contributed by her works not only to the building up of the nation, but also to its general instruction.

The historical books, of which there are a large number, are also the outcome of the learning of ecclesiastics, such as Moses of Khorene, Lazarus of Parpi, the *vardapet* Elisha, Koriun Skantcheli, Hovhannes the catholicos, Stepanos Orbelian, Ghevond *vardapet,* Stepanos Assoghik, and many others whose names it would be wearisome to enumerate. There were, likewise, the works of Agathangelos, of Zenob, and of Faustus of Byzantium, which are presumed to be translations. It will be seen, from these examples, that the best period of Armenian literature is exclusively taken up with works by the clergy.

As we have shown in the historical portion of this work, the period between the twelfth and the seventeenth centuries was one of social decadence for the Armenian nation. During this span of time its literature likewise denotes the decay of intellectuality. The few writings which have come down to us from this period are also from the pen of the clergy. To the latter belongs, besides, the merit of not disregarding their duty towards the education of the people. This task they accomplished in so far as circumstances enabled them, for it is well known that they had to contend at times against obstacles which appeared well-nigh insurmountable. The physician Amir Dolvat and the official Yeremia Keumurdjian, who belonged to this same period, must be reckoned among the few lay writers.

In spite of the inferior quality of all the writings of this time, they, nevertheless, are not without interest, in so far that they give us an historical aspect of the customs and tendency of their time, which they faithfully reflect. They are, moreover, a source of valuable information regarding the events of a period of which even now we know but little.

It is to the clergy, who, by their assiduous care, multiplied manuscript copies, that we must also assign the credit of having preserved the works of former ages. Those which we possess trace their origin almost entirely to this period of decadence; for the more ancient manuscripts are very few in number.

CHAPTER XL

The Latest Signs

Beginning with the eighteenth century, literature assumed the phase of revival; but the clergy still held the foremost place in the intellectual movement, and all progress, as well as every social amelioration, sprang from their initiative. Vardan, Golod, and Nalian in the East, Mekhitar and Khatchatour in the West, displayed the most praiseworthy efforts, not only towards the resuscitation of the national literature, but also towards the spread of education among the people, and of instruction among the mass of the clergy. The publication of books at that time increased in an unexpected manner, thanks to the use of printing, which developed more and more in the East. The people were at length attracted to share in the benefits of education; and a host of writers from all ranks of society have made themselves illustrious. What was before unheard of now happened: the laity began to devote themselves to acquiring instruction, which, till now, had been the exclusive monopoly of the ecclesiastics. In that society, which was being regenerated, there arose a special class of teachers, to whom was assigned the stately title of *Patveli* (honourable). Since then nothing has abated that advance towards progress; the uplifting of intellectuality has been realised in a manner that has been both steady and uninterrupted, and in keeping with the general tendency of the age.

As we are here concerned with religious literature alone, we should add that if works of this character are numerous, they are far, indeed, from being as satisfactory as might be wished. To Father Mikael Tchamtchian, of the Mekhitarists of Venice, is due the credit of reviving the study of history; but we are obliged to admit that his national history is unsatisfactory from the point of view of the critical spirit and of the relations existing between that history and general history. The examination of the sources of national history is still very incomplete. The history of the Church herself suffers from omissions of the same nature which are also due to defects connected with the sources. On the other hand, the Mekhitarists of Venice and of Vienna, to whom it would not be possible to deny the credit of having effectively contributed to the development of letters, have not been able to

escape from that spirit of particularism which has estranged them from the Armenian Church. The seminaries of Etchmiadzin and of Armache have recently undertaken critical works, in order to declare the character of this Church in her true and original light, which Catholic authors have endeavoured to subvert to the extent of making her unrecognisable.

The facilities of communication with modern Europe have thrown Armenians of these latter days into the current of those modern ideas whereby the Latin races of Europe have chiefly been influenced. This circumstance has given occasion for the production of anti-religious opinions and ideas, which find expression in pamphlets directed against the Church. The latter, compelled to take up her own self-defence, has done so by entering upon a new path of an *apologia.* From this has resulted a greater effort towards raising the intellectual standard of the clergy, on whom devolves the duty of combating these audacious tendencies. We may well believe, however, that these measures are superfluous, for the Armenian Church rests on too firm a foundation, and her spirit of tolerance is too well known to engender fear from the assaults of an irreligious tendency, which she has in no way provoked. Those among the Armenians who think they are serving the cause of liberty by their extreme notions seem to ignore the fact that it is precisely that liberty they are fighting for which is also part and parcel of the spirit and the doctrine of their Church. They forget that anti-religious and anti-clerical tendencies only originate in countries where Roman Catholicism is supreme—tendencies which have been brought into being by its thoughtless excesses of doctrine. Generally speaking, Protestant countries are free from such excesses, doubtless on account of the liberalism which is inculcated by the dominant religion. The Anglo-Saxons, who may be regarded as pioneers in the realm of liberty, are at the same time genuinely devoted to the faith.

The account we have given of our doctrine gives us the right to assert that, in the matter of liberalism and religious tolerance, the Armenian Church yields to no other Church, if at times she is not even superior to them. Nothing is easier for an Armenian writer than to defend his own Church in particular, and religion in general, against the attacks of what is called the modern spirit. To do this, it is enough for him to make known his own principles and his doctrine, eliminating from them all that is of foreign import, adhering strictly to the rules laid down by the Church's early

divines, upholding in everything the true sense of tradition, and, finally, maintaining that fruitful and legitimate co-operation between the clergy and the laity which is of the essence of her spirit and her institutions. The conviction will then of itself grow, that Christianity, which has brought the light of liberty into the world, can in no sense be arrayed against the progress of human reason.

PART VII

THE PRESENT TIME

CHAPTER XLI

The External Aspect

All that we have stated so far has had a bearing mainly on the past history of the Armenian Church. By this time our readers will have gained some information of her origin, the early period of her existence, and the vicissitudes of her history. Until to-day she has been, we will not say entirely overlooked, but in any case very little known. Having related her past history, we will now explain in a few words her present position.

The whole of Christendom is divided into four branches, viz. the Catholic and Protestant branches in the West; and the Dyophysite and Monophysite branches in the East. There is no difficulty in admitting that the Monophysites do not possess that prestige which is conferred either by numbers or by power. All they can pride themselves on is their antiquity. The Armenian Church, which belongs to this branch, occupies the leading position among the various groups into which the Monophysites are divided. Communion in faith and in spiritual love continues to be a bond between the latter; for the canons of the primitive Church do not exact a centralisation of administration. Thus, the Syrian, Coptic, and Abyssinian Churches retain their autocephalic hierarchy without abandoning their communion with the Armenian Church. It is usual to include also the Chaldaean Church in this category, although her profession of faith is not quite the same as that of the other four Churches. She came to be assimilated with the others at the instance of the Ottoman government, which, by its own authority, connected her from the beginning with the Armenian patriarchate.

The Armenian Church is, therefore, of a character which is essentially national, following the type of the primitive ideal. She recognises, as the central depositary of supreme power, the catholicos, whose see is at Etchmiadzin, and whose jurisdiction extends over the entire body of faithful Armenians dispersed throughout the world; all are equally the sheep of the same flock. We will not return to a point which has already been sufficiently dealt with, namely, the distribution of dioceses and of secondary sees, nor

to matters concerning the discipline maintained in ecclesiastical administration. It will be sufficient to state on this subject that the dioceses in Russia are arranged on the basis of the regulation of 1836, called the *Pologenia,* which has been confirmed by an imperial *ukase;* while in Turkey there prevails the arrangement under the regulation of 1860, known under the name of *Sahmanadrouthiun,* which has been approved by an imperial *irade.* These regulations, although based on ancient canons and customs, have been brought into harmony with the political rights of modern times. They contain, nevertheless, various privileges which confer so many rights of an exceptional character in favour of the clergy. The new constitutional regime lately introduced both in Russia and in Turkey refuses to accept this position, and it is the policy of both these governments to endeavour to abrogate the privileges. There is, in consequence, brewing a latent struggle between the political and the ecclesiastical powers of these two countries. But the latter, strong in their acquired rights, intend to maintain their privileges, from their advantageous standpoint, so long as Russia and Turkey hold, the one to her Orthodoxy, the other to her Islamism.

If we were to search for historical data bearing on the position of the Armenian Church, we would find that the number of her faithful adherents formerly reached to no less a figure than thirty millions. To-day they are no more than four millions. These figures are, however, only approximate, as no official record of statistics has yet been prepared by the diocesan chanceries. Emigrations and periodic massacres, as well as conversions and the absorption of the converted into the various sects and races among whom they had settled, are the causes of this enormous diminution in their number. In Appendix II[8], at the end of this volume, will be found an approximate statistical record of the existing population by their dioceses.

[8] Appendix II excepted in this edition.

CHAPTER XLII

The Various Sects

The spirit of religious tolerance, as we have said, has had a peculiar effect in assisting Armenians to pass from their own to other denominations of the Christian faith. We will say nothing of conversions to Islamism, which are brought about mainly by the direct action of the public authorities. The descendants of such converts belong entirely to Islamism, and can no longer be considered as Armenians. They contribute their share in swelling the existing Turkish and Kurdish populations of the Ottoman empire.

The oldest rupture with the Armenian Church is due to the sect of the Armeno-Greeks *(Haihororn),* whose separation can be traced back to the period of Byzantine rule. Formerly, this sect was very numerous; but at the present time its numbers are reduced to a mere trifle—to ten thousand or thereabouts. Scattered through the dioceses of Eghine, Ismidt, and Keghy, they retain the memory of their origin, and their elders still hold converse in the language of their forefathers. The ancient Armeno-Greeks, who became incorporated and blended by degrees with the Greek element, no longer display, in their external aspect or their religious tenets, any of the characteristics of their original nationality.

It cannot be apprehended for a moment that the Russian domination in the Caucasus has succeeded in forming an Armeno-Russian community, with a view to its absorption into their Church; but the attempts which Pravoslavism has made in that direction have been far from successful, except in one village in the Caucasus, and in a few families in the chief cities, who have allowed themselves to be won over.

The proselytism of the Roman Catholic Church has been more successful. She has succeeded in forming an independent community, which has been recognised by the Turkish government. This success owes itself to the political ascendancy of the Catholic powers and to the pecuniary aid of the Propaganda. It has also been countenanced in a special degree by the tactics of the Roman Curia, which has given its sanction to the use, by the converts, of the Armenian rite, with certain modifications. The earliest

missionaries, however, had conceived the idea of introducing the Latin rituals, translated into Armenian; but they were obliged to give up the project on account of the strenuous opposition which it excited. The Roman Curia then resorted to another expedient. It published a special edition of the Armenian rituals, with the text very much altered, though retaining the semblance of the model. This expedient was scarcely very successful; and in the end it decided to foist on to the original text arbitrary and far-fetched interpretations. It has succeeded to that extent.

The remnants of the earliest conversions, which can be traced back to the sixteenth century, led their lives in scattered communities in Cilicia and in Armenia, until, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, there was inaugurated, at Constantinople, a vigorous campaign of proselytisation, which split up the nation into two parties. The congregations of the Mekhitar and the Antonins, and the establishment at that period of an hierarchic see, gave a powerful impetus to the movement. It made so great an advance that the Armeno-Catholics, with the approval of the sultan, ended by forming themselves in Turkey into a nationality *(millet),* and establishing a special hierarchy. In Russia the Armeno-Catholics have formed a community of their own, but it is subject to the control of the Roman Catholic bishop of Saratoff. There are also to be reckoned a certain number in Galicia and in Hungary; these, however, have no relations with their co-religionists in the East. The total number of Armeno-Catholics scattered throughout the world may be estimated at about 200,000. The towns in the Turkish empire which contain the largest number of their adherents are Constantinople, Angora, Aleppo, Mardin, and Khotortchour; they are also to be found in numbers at Akhalzikhe in the Caucasus and at Lemberg in Galicia.

The Armeno-Protestant community is of recent formation. The claim, advanced by some of their members, that they are the descendants of the Thondracians or Paulicians of Armenia is purely chimerical. It has been proved that these ancient sects left no descendants in the East. We are under no misapprehension in saying that Oriental Protestantism was introduced solely by American missionaries. These latter, encouraged by the success of the Armeno-Catholics, have endeavoured to form a special nationality *(millet)* in Turkey, with the rights pertaining to it. Their total, which approximates about 80,000 souls, is made up of a certain number of small

congregations scattered throughout the empire. The mass of them are collected chiefly round their institutions at Kharpout, Aintab, and Merzifoun, which have been founded by American missionary efforts and are supported by them. Their profession of faith is based on the principles of the Evangelical Church; a few of their number belong to the Episcopal and Baptist persuasions. The Armeno-Protestants are under the administration of the American missionaries, and exist, in a measure, on the funds procured for them by the latter. We should also draw attention to the existence, in the Caucasus, of a body of a few thousands of Armenian Protestants; but as they have no status of their own, all distinction between them and foreign communities is lost.

Finally, it should be added that Catholics and Protestants manage their affairs in Turkey under internal regulations of their own, which have never been confirmed by the Ottoman government.

CHAPTER XLIII

The National Character

All travellers who have studied closely the ancient East have entertained the most favourable opinion of the Armenian character. All agree in recognising therein the qualities of intelligence and of versatility. But the feature which characterises it in a special degree is its quick and enterprising spirit, which has enabled it, almost unscathed, to go through the most difficult and the most critical situations. If we were to summarise Armenian history, we should say that its beginnings were, indeed, sinister, its prosperity ever short-lived, and, for the rest, it has been continually face to face with dramatic incidents. The inroads, the ravages, the tribulations, and the massacres which make up that history are one long martyrology. And yet the Armenian has never allowed himself to be carried away by despair, nor has he succumbed to what is called oriental sluggishness; he has, on the contrary, always been able to turn to account the surrounding circumstances of his position, which happened to lend themselves for the exercise of his activity, and so has been able to put to good use his natural or acquired abilities.

In spite of hindrances, and the fetters whereby his progress has been clogged, he has known how to play an active part by the side of his rulers, and to raise himself to the highest positions in the countries to which he has emigrated. He has taken his share in all branches of human activity with equal success. He has excelled in commerce, in industry, in the arts and the sciences. From the oldest times, the commerce of Asia has been in his hands; the products of Armenian industry were represented in the mark of Tyre and of Babylon. In the Middle Ages the free Armenian towns of Poland and of Hungary were the centres of activity and of progress. As a rule, one is apt to forget that the English East India Company only succeeded to a position which was established in the first instance by an Armenian Company, which possessed civil and military powers.

Besides, it is a well-known fact that the Armenian populations which, at various periods of the nation's history, were forced away from their country

and transported into Turkey or Russia, have contributed in a marked degree to the prosperity of those States. The most beautiful works of architecture, the most useful institutions of the Ottoman empire, are the handiwork of Armenians. That empire is indebted to them for the control of her finances, her coinage, the manufacture of powder, as well as the administrative services of her army. That which is loosely styled *Oriental art,* so delightful in its conception, is in a great measure the offspring of their imagination and of their genius.

Many an Armenian has distinguished himself in both civil employments and in military posts. The greatest victories of the Russian armies have been gained by Armenian generals. It is to an Armenian diplomatist that the new Egypt is unquestionably indebted for her regeneration. The dawn of liberty in the East has had that nation for its harbinger—a nation which has succeeded in attaining her object only at the price of very great sacrifices; it may even be said that she is still without the reward that is her due.

The enumeration of the services which Armenians have rendered to the Eastern world would be a very long one, if we were to attempt to review all that they have accomplished; one would see in that roll with what zeal and with what untiring devotion they have striven to act up to an ideal which was not of their own; and this has been brought about by their spirit of loyalty, and for the furtherance of what action and progress demanded.

Unfortunately, circumstances alter the aspect of the case when the nation is considered as a whole, and when a close examination is made as to what it has accomplished, or what it has been in past times as a people. A distressing impression of despondency is produced by such an inquiry. Indeed, the chief cause of this unfortunate state of affairs lies in the peculiarly unsuitable topography of the old country. Armenia, having neither outlets to the sea, nor the advantage of river communications, exposed on all sides to the incursions of her neighbours, against whom she could at any time oppose only insufficient forces, found herself at the mercy of every kind of annoyance at their hands. But could such a circumstance exculpate the nation, as such, from allowing itself to fall into decay? In vain will her history be ransacked for a trace of those brilliant qualities of which Armenians, as individuals, have given proof. These qualities have always been neutralised in the collective nation by the passions of the moment,

brought about by jealousies and by unbridled ambitions. Instances of these defects, always to be regretted, which have given rise to unjustifiable strifes and led her to positive ruin, are only of too frequent occurrence in her history. In this connection we have only to call to mind the end of the Arsacides, the battle of Avarair, and the dramatic downfall of Ani.

Briskness of spirit and boldness of purpose, often useful under exceptional circumstances, are, as a rule, prejudicial, and render abortive the best of undertakings, unless they are governed by prudence. Therein lies, in the main, the cause of all failure, which the Armenian nation has often learnt from cruel experience. Of the two causes, the one physical and the other moral, which have conspired to bring about her ruin, it would be very difficult to say which has been the more active. Undoubtedly the influence of the physical causes cannot be disputed; but, in order to remedy it, did the Armenians act as they ought to have done? In the presence of the great dangers which encompassed them on every side, should they not have braced themselves up with prudence and moderation, and so brought to their side both unity and harmony? It is through co-operation and cohesion of all their available forces, that they could have prevented the most formidable calamities that have ever weighted the destinies of any race.

CHAPTER XLIV

The Influence of the Church

To keep within the bounds of our subject, we must now take a rapid glance at the influence exercised by the Church over the life of the Armenian people. It is the fashion at the present time to assail, *per fas et nefas,* the mistakes of ministers of worship, in order to draw conclusions therefrom against the Church herself. These detractors seem to forget that social progress, on which they rely, is the offspring of Christian genius; that the principles of liberty were, in the first instance, proclaimed by the religion of Christ; and that every kind of betterment which has been brought to fruition in the world has derived its principle and its power from that source. That which is true for the Christian Church in general has been confirmed in a remarkable manner with regard to the Armenian Church in particular.

The decadence of Armenia is supposed to be attributed to her conversion to Christianity. It is pleaded that a coincidence of dates proves this assertion, but it is not noticed that a century and a half intervened between the two events. A simple scrutiny of the facts shows that the signs of her political decadence appear prior to the fourth century. They have for their origin the rivalry between the Romans and the Parthians, and about this there can be no doubt. It can, therefore, be asserted that the advent of Christianity, far from hastening her downfall, did, on the contrary, possess the merit of delaying it by a century and a half. This could not be otherwise than most natural; for, if we suppose the contrary to be the case, we should have to admit that barbarism is more advantageous to the life of a nation than any other system.

There are some who have considered that the religious wars of the fifth century were a mistake, and that submission to the religion of Zoroaster would have been most beneficial to the destinies of the nation. They seem to forget that the tactics of the Persians, in inflicting their religion, had for its sole object the absorption of the races which they brought under subjection. If they had yielded to them, the Armenians would most certainly

have endured the lot of those who embraced that religion. Nothing more would have remained of them—not even their name.

There are others who try to prove that the nation would have been placed in a better position had she been converted bodily to Islamism. It does not seem quite clear what advantage such conversion would have brought her. After the conquest of the country the number of converts to that faith was considerable; some going over to it through self-interest, others by compulsion. What has become of them? They have all melted away into the mass of the Turkish and Kurdish populations. The manifest fact which dominates all these quibbles is that the designation *Armenian* is borne only by those who have remained loyal to the faith of Christ.

There is also an inclination to find fault with Armenians for their attachment to their national Church, under the impression that their position would have undergone a change for the better had they given themselves over to Roman Catholicism; they would in this way have secured the protection of the Catholic powers. To show the extent of this delusion, it is only necessary to call to mind the occurrences which signalised the last days of the kingdom of Cilicia. It was proved then that its downfall could be ascribed precisely to that closer intercourse which was existing at the time with the Latins. Neither is it difficult to notice also that the Armenians who had gone over to Roman Catholicism without any restraint ended by forgetting their origin; and furthermore, that the Armeno-Catholics themselves of Turkey, who enjoy the advantage of an autonomous community, exist in a state of continual and open strife with the papacy, whose aim and object is to change the character of their nationality.

All these facts bear positive proof that the national Church has been the sole bond which has united the scattered remnants of the race of Haik in an indestructible bundle within her folds. She has unquestionably given them, not only the elements of inner vitality, but also the means whereby they could give themselves form and shape for the battle of life, and maintain themselves in their dealings and their efforts. She has fashioned them into a distinct body, the members of which ever possess that individuality which distinguishes them through space and time.

Bereft, for many centuries, of political life, the nation has linked herself to her Church as to an anchor of salvation, and hence it is that she has been

able to triumph over the difficulties which have assailed her, though she has emerged from those struggles in an enfeebled condition and in diminished numbers. That force which has in the past exercised so potent an influence over her destinies has not ceased to operate. She will resort to it as long as circumstances make it her duty to do so. Experience has shown that, in the absence of a political link, the national Church is alone capable of making up for that universal want. She is the visible expression of the absent fatherland, the one that satisfies the noblest longings of the soul.

In these latter years a rumour has been abroad in certain quarters of so-called Armenian manoeuvres, having for their object a demand for political autonomy. The two neighbouring empires, in whose territories the bulk of the Armenians happen to be dispersed, have seized the pretext, so far as that object is concerned, for using a relentless rigour towards that nation. In all fairness, can that nation be censured for cherishing aspirations of that kind? Is not every desire for betterment both natural and self-emanating? But, if the sentiment is spontaneously evolved, reason comes in to direct its course. Armenians possess too distinct a consciousness of realities to be led astray into dangerous Utopias. Can they forget that the soil of their country happens to be portioned off between three powers, and that they are themselves scattered broadcast into every corner of the globe? Can they forget that their intellectual, their financial powers, in a word, their general abilities in the affairs of the world, have been conspicuous everywhere, except in those very places where they should have been allowed to exercise them for the nation's benefit? With such difficulties set in their path, can they delude themselves over the possibility of realising their political designs in the way that they would themselves choose? Such a proposition cannot be accepted without offending the good sense of the nation. The Armenian is able to endure, if it must be, the accusation of harbouring tendencies which are liberal, nay, even patriotic, even though such accusations be made without solid grounds; but it is not in his nature to suffer himself to be charged with ignorance or stupidity.

It may be truly said that every good Armenian is governed solely with the one desire to live at peace with his neighbours. All that he asks is that his life, his honour, his property, and his industry should be secure against danger; that he should be allowed to enjoy in peace, like other people, the fruits of his labours, and that he should share in those ordinary privileges

which are accorded to the people among whom he has taken up his abode. With this legitimate desire he would combine that of protection for the individuality of his race, his language, and his literature. It is to secure to himself the possession of these blessings, the pious heritage of his ancestors, that he has sought refuge in the bosom of his national Church, which he wishes should remain intact, with her institutions, her prerogatives, and the integrity of her acquired privileges.

He is impressed with the conviction that the Church, which has protected him in the past, will continue to protect him in the future.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

Chronology of Supreme Patriarchs

(N.B. —The dates are according to the Old Style.)

A

FROM THE APOSTOLIC AGE TO THE CREATION OF THE NATIONAL CHURCH

1. ST. THADDEUS; preached the gospel in Armenia, entering the country from the north; suffered martyrdom at Ardaze *circ.* 50. His tomb is venerated at Magou. The history of Thaddeus Didymus, who came from Edessa, disposes of the objections of critics.
2. ST. BARTHOLOMEW, apostle; preached the gospel after St. Thaddeus; suffered martyrdom at Albacus *circ.* 68. His tomb is venerated at Baschkale.
3. ST. ZAKARIA, disciple of St. Thaddeus; became the head of the Church after the above two apostles; suffered martyrdom *circ.* 76.
4. ST. ZEMENTUS disciple of the above two apostles; administered four years; died *circ.* 81.
5. ST. ATIRNERSEH; administered fifteen years; suffered martyrdom *circ.* 97.
6. ST. MOUSCHE, translated from the see of Sunik to that of Ardaze; administered thirty years; died *circ.* 128.
7. ST. SCHAHEN; administered twenty-five years; died *circ.* 154.
8. ST. SCHAVARSCH; administered twenty years; died *circ.* 175.
9. ST. GHEVONDIUS; administered seventeen years; suffered martyrdom *circ.* 193. The names of his successors remain in obscurity, but the succession is substantiated by the tradition of the see of Sunik.
10. ST. MEHROUJAN; occupied the see of Ardaze between the years 230 and 260.

B

FROM THE CREATION OF THE NATIONAL CHURCH TO THE PRESENT DAY

1. ST. GRIGOR I, Lusavoritch; preached the gospel in 301; ordained in 302; foundation of Etchmiadzin in 303; died in 325, at the age of about 86.
2. ST. ARISTAKES I, Parthian, coadjutor with his father since 306; was present at the Council of Nicaea in 325; on his return, he succeeded his father; suffered martyrdom in 333.
3. ST. VERTANES I, Parthian, elder son of St. Grigor; succeeded his brother in 333; died in 341, at the age of 80. St. Grigoris, son of Vertanes, exarch of Caspian Albania, suffered martyrdom in 337.
4. ST. HOUSSIK I, Parthian, son of Vertanes; succeeded his father in 341; suffered martyrdom in 347. *St. Daniel,* who was elected to succeed, suffered martyrdom in 347, before he occupied his seat.
5. PAREN I of Aschtischat, a relative of St. Grigor; succeeded, after the refusal of the sons of St. Houssik, in 348; he carried on the administration for four years; died in 352. After him, *Schahak* of Manazkert administered in an acting capacity for a year.
6. ST. NERSES I The Great, grandson of Houssik; elected in 353, at the age of 27; for four years, 359-363, he withdrew from his post, the duties being carried on by *Schahak* of Manazkert, otherwise Tchonak; Nerses administered for twenty years; he died on July 25th, 373.
7. SCHAHAK I of Manazkert, of the family of Albianus, who had acted for St. Nerses; filled the seat in 373; he was also called Houssik; he died in 377.
8. ZAVEN I of Manazkert, a relative of the former; elected in 377; he administered for four years; died in 381.
9. ASPOURAKES I of Manazkert; succeeded his brother in 381, and administered for five years; died in 386. The see was vacant for a year.
10. ST. SAHAK I The Great; elected in 387, at the age of 39; in conjunction with St. Mesrop, invented the Armenian alphabet in 404; exiled in 428; *Sourmak* of Manazkert, appointed anti-patriarch in 428, was expelled a year later; *Birkischo* the Syrian, who was made to take his place, was expelled in 432; *Schimuel* the Syrian, appointed anti-patriarch, died in 437; St. Sahak, on his recall from exile, was installed at Blour in 432,

where he carried on the spiritual administration; *Sourmak* was re-elected anti-patriarch in 437; St. Sahak died on September 7th, 439. The spiritual administration was continued by *St. Mesrop,* who died on February 17th, 440.

11. St. Hovsep I of Hoghotzim; succeeded to the spiritual administration in 440; he was recognised by the government at the death of Sourmak in 444; he presided at the Council of Schahapivan in 445, and at that of Artaschat in 450; he was exiled in 451; resigned in 452; suffered martyrdom on July 25th, 454.
12. Melitus I of Manazkert; elected in 452; died in 456.
13. Movses I of Manazkert; elected in 456; died in 461.
14. St. Gut I of Araheze; elected in 461; exiled in 471; withdrew to Othmous in 472; died in 478. The name of Kristapor I Ardzrouni mentioned in lists ordinarily met with has not been made good by any valid proof.
15. St. Hovhannes I Mandakouni; elected in 478; transferred the see to Douine in 484; died in 490.
16. Babken I of Othmous; elected in 490; presided at the Councils of Douine in 506 and 513; died in 515. The brief pontificate which the ordinary lists attribute to him is not in keeping with the chronology.
17. Samuel I of Ardzke; elected in 516; died in 526.
18. Mousche I of Ailaberk; elected in 526; died in 534.
19. Sahak II of Ouhki; elected in 534; died in 539.
20. Kristapor I of Tiraritch; elected in 539; died in 545.
21. Ghevond I of Erast; elected in 545; died in 548.
22. Nerses II of Bagrevand; elected in 548; presided at the Council of Douine in 554; died in 557.
23. Hovhannes II, Gabeghian; elected in 557; died in 574.
24. Movses II of Eghivart; elected in 574; *Hovhannes* of Bagaran was elected anti-patriarch in Greek Armenia in 590; Movses died in 604. The see, vacant for three years, was administered by *Vertanes* Kertogh.
25. Abraham I of Aghbatank; elected on April 30th, 607; presided at the Council of Douine against the Georgians in 609; the anti-patriarch Hovhannes died in 611; Abraham died in 615.
26. Comitas I of Aghtzik; elected in 615; restored the cathedral of St. Rhipsime in 617; died in 628.

27. KRISTAPOR II, Apahouni; elected in 628; resigned in 630.
28. YEZR I of Parajenakert; elected in 630; presided at the Council of Karine in 631; died in 641.
29. NERSES III of Ischkhan, surnamed Schinogh; elected in 641; withdrew from the administration in 652, returning to it again in 658; died in 661.
30. ANASTASIUS I of Akori; elected in 661; died in 667.
31. ISRAEL I of Othmous; elected in 667; died in 677.
32. SAHAK III of Tzorapor; elected in 677; died in 703.
33. EGHIA I of Ardjesch; elected in 703; died in 717.
34. ST. HOVHANNES III of Otzoun, surnamed Imastasser; elected in 717; presided at the Councils of Douine in 719 and of Manazkert in 726; died in 728.
35. DAVID I of Aramonk; elected in 728; died in 741.
36. TIRDAT I of Othmous; elected in 741; died in 764.
37. TIRDAT II of Dasnavork; elected in 764; died in 767.
38. SION I of Bavonk; elected in 767; presided at the Council of Partav in 768; died in 775.
39. YESSAI I of Eghipatrousche; elected in 775; died in 788.
40. STEPANOS I of Douine; elected in 788; died in 790.
41. HOVAB I of Douine; elected in 790; died in 791.
42. SOGHOMON I of Garni; elected in 791; died in 792.
43. GUEORG I of Oschakan, surnamed Hailorbouk; elected in 792; died in 795.
44. HOVSEP II of Parpi, surnamed Karidj; elected in 795; died in 806.
45. DAVID II of Gagagh; elected in 806; died in 833.
46. HOVHANNES IV of Ova; elected in 833; died in 855.
47. ZAKARIA I of Tzak; elected in 855; died in 877.
48. GUEORG II of Garni; elected in 878; died in 898.
49. ST. MASCHTOTZ I of Eghivart; elected in 898; died, October 13th, 899.
50. HOVHANNES V of Draskhonakert, surnamed Patmaban; elected in 899; transferred the see to Tzorovank in 928; died in 931
51. STEPANOS II, Rischtouni; elected in 931; transferred the see to Aghthamar in the same year; died in 932.
52. THEODOROS I, Rischtouni; elected in 932; died in 938.
53. YEGHISCHE I, Rischtouni; elected in 938; died in 943.

54. Anania I of Moks; elected in 943; transferred the see to Arkina; died in 967.
55. Vahan I, Suni; elected in 967; deposed in 969.
56. Stepanos III of Sevan; elected in 969; died in 971.
57. Khatchik I, Arscharouni; elected in 972; constructed the residence at Ani in 991; died in 992.
58. Sarkis I of Sevan; elected on March 29th, 992; transferred the see to Ani in the same year; resigned in 1019.
59. Petros I, Guetadartz; elected in 1019; *Dioskoros* of Sanahine appointed anti-patriarch in 1036; Petros returned to his see in 1038; *Khatchik II* Appointed coadjutor in 1049; the see transferred to Sebaste in 1050; Petros died in 1054.
60. Khatchik II of Ani; succeeded in 1054; transferred the see to Thavblour in 1057; died in 1060. The see remained vacant for five years.
61. Grigor II, Vikaiasser; elected in 1065; transferred the see to Zamintia in the same year; *Gueorg III* of Lori appointed coadjutor in 1069, removed in 1072; *Sarkis* of Honi proclaimed anti-patriarch in 1076, died in 1077; *Theodoros* Alakhossik took his place in 1077, died in 1090; *Barsegh I* appointed coadjutor in 1081; *Poghos* of Varak proclaimed anti-patriarch in 1086, withdrew in 1087; Grigor died June 3rd, 1105.
62. Barsegh I of Ani; succeeded in 1105; died in 1113.
63. Grigor III, Pahlavouni; elected in 1113, at the age of 20; *David* Thornikian proclaimed anti-patriarch at Aghthamar in 1114; the see transferred to Rhomkla in 1147; Grigor resigned, August 17th, 1166; died three months later.
64. St. Nerses IV, Schinorhali; elected in 1166; died, August 13th, 1173.
65. Grigor IV, Tegha; elected in 1173; presided at the Council of Rhomkla in 1179; died, May 16th, 1193.
66. Grigor V, Karavege; elected in 1193; deposed and died in 1194.
67. Grigor VI, Apirat; elected in 1194; *Barsegh II* of Ani proclaimed anti-patriarch in 1195; Grigor died in 1203.
68. Hovhannes VI, Medzabaro; elected in 1203; *Anania* of Sebaste proclaimed anti-patriarch in 1204; *David III* of Arkakahin appointed coadjutor in 1204; Hovhannes died in 1221.
69. Constantine I of Bartzrberd; elected in 1221; died, April 9th, 1267.
70. Hacob I of Kla, surnamed Guitnakan; elected in 1267; died in 1286.

71. Constantine II Pronagortz; elected, April 13th, 1286; deposed in 1289.
72. Stepanos IV of Rhomkla; elected in 1290; carried away a prisoner into Egypt in 1292; died in 1293.
73. Grigor VII of Anavarza; elected in 1293; transferred the see to Sis in the same year; died in 1307; the Council of Sis was summoned after his death.
74. Constantine III of Caesarea; elected, March 19th, 1307; died in 1322.
75. Constantine IV of Lambron; elected in 1322; died in 1326.
76. Hacob II of Tarsus; elected in 1327; resigned in 1341; reverted to the see in 1355; died in 1359.
77. Mekhitar I of Grner; elected in 1341; died in 1355.
78. Mesrop I of Ardaze; elected in 1359; died in 1372.
79. Constantine V of Sis; elected in 1372; died in 1374.
80. Poghos I of Sis; elected in 1374; died in 1377.
81. Theodoros II of Cilicia; elected in 1377; died in 1392. The see remained vacant one year.
82. Karapet I of Keghy, surnamed Bobik; elected in 1393; died in 1408.
83. Hacob III of Sis; elected in 1408; died in 1411.
84. Grigor VIII, Khantzoghat; usurped the see in 1411; deposed in 1416.
85. Poghos II of Garni; elected in 1416; died in 1429.
86. Constantine VI of Vahka; usurped the see in 1429; died in 1439; *Hovsep,* a pretender, was unsuccessful in usurping the see.
87. Grigor IX, Moussabeguian; elected in 1439; withdrew in 1441.
88. Kirakos I of Virap; elected in 1441, on the occasion of the transfer of the see to Etchmiadzin; resigned in 1443.
89. Grigor X, Djelalbeguian; elected in 1443; *Karapet* of Tokat proclaimed anti-patriarch at Sis in 1446; *Aristakes II* appointed coadjutor in 1448; *Zakaria* of Aghthamar usurped the see in 1461; withdrew in 1462; *Sarkis II* appointed coadjutor in 1462; Grigor died in 1466.
90. Aristakes II, Athorakal; succeeded in 1466; died in 1470.
91. Sarkis II, Atchatar; succeeded in 1470; *Hovhannes VII* appointed coadjutor in 1470; Sarkis died in 1474.
92. Hovhannes VII, Atchakir; succeeded in 1474; *Sarkis III* appointed coadjutor in 1474; Hovhannes resigned in 1484.

93. Sarkis III, Mussail; succeeded in 1484; *Artstakes III* appointed coadjutor in 1484, *Thadeos I* in 1499, *Yeghische II* in 1504, *Hovhannes* in 1505, *Nerses* in 1506, and *Zakaria II* in 1507; Sarkis died in 1515.
94. Zakaria II of Vagharschapat; succeeded in 1515; *Sarkis IV* appointed coadjutor in 1515; Zakaria died in 1520.
95. Sarkis IV of Georgia; succeeded in 1520; died in 1537.
96. Grigor XI of Byzantium; elected in 1537; died in 1542.
97. Stepanos V of Salmasd; elected, 1542; *Mikael I* appointed coadjutor in 1542, *Barsegh III* in 1549, *Grigor XII* in 1552, and *Aristakes IV* in 1555; Stepanos died in 1564.
98. Mikael I of Sebaste; succeeded in 1564; *Stepanos VI* appointed coadjutor in 1567; Mikael died in 1570.
99. Grigor XII of Vagharschapat; succeeded in 1570; *Thadeos II* appointed coadjutor in 1571, *Arakel* in 1575, and *David IV* in 1579; Grigor died in 1587.
100. David IV of Vagharschapat; succeeded in 1587; *Melchissedech I* of Garni appointed coadjutor in 1593, *Grigor XIII* Serapion in 1603, and *Sahak IV* of Garni in 1624; David resigned in 1629.
101. Movses III of Tathev; elected, January 13th, 1629; died, May 14th, 1632.
102. Philippos I of Aghbak; elected, January 13th, 1633; died, March 25th, 1655.
103. Hacob IV of Djoulfa; elected, April 8th, 1655; *Yeghiazar I* proclaimed anti-patriarch in 1663; Hacob died at Constantinople, August 1st, 1680. The see remained vacant for two years.
104. Yeghiazar I of Aintab; elected in 1682; died, August 8th, 1691.
105. Nahapet I of Edessa; elected, August 10th, 1691; died, June 13th, 1705. The see remained vacant for one year.
106. Alexander I of Djoulfa; elected in 1706; died, November 22nd, 1714.
107. Astouadzatour I of Hamadan; elected, May 7th, 1715; died, October 10th, 1725.
108. Karapet II of Zeytoun; elected and consecrated at Constantinople, February 27th, 1726; returned to Etchmiadzin in 1728; died, October 9th, 1729.
109. Abraham II of Khoschab; elected in 1730; died, November 11th, 1734.

110. ABRAHAM III of Crete; elected, November 25th, 1734; died, April 18th, 1737.
111. GHAZAR I of Tchahouk; elected in 1737; consecrated in 1738; *Hovhannes* of Akoulis proclaimed anti-patriarch in 1740; Ghazar is superseded by *Petros II* Kutour, as substitute *ad interim,* in 1748, for one year; Ghazar died in 1751.
112. MINAS I of Eghine; elected, September 15th, 1751; died, May 12th, 1753.
113. ALEXANDER II, Karakaschian; elected in 1753; consecrated, March 6th, 1754; died, 1755. *Sahak V* of Keghy, surnamed Ahakine, elected in 1755, was never consecrated; died in 1760.
114. HACOB V of Schamakhi; elected, November 24th, 1759; died in July, 1763.
115. SIMEON I of Erivan; elected in 1763; died, July 26th, 1780.
116. GHOUKAS I of Karine; elected, August 2nd, 1780; died, December 27th, 1799. *Hovsep* Arghoutian, elected in 1800, died in 1801 without receiving consecration.
117. DAVID V, Gorganian; usurped the see, April 28th, 1801; was deposed in September, 1804.
118. DANIEL I of Sourmari; elected in 1801, but unable to hold possession of the see until September 21st, 1804; died, August 21st, 1808.
119. YEPREM I of Tzorageh; elected, December 26th, 1809; resigned, March 6th, 1831.
120. HOVHANNES VIII of Karbi; elected, March 31st, 1831; consecrated, November 8th; died, March 26th, 1842.

The new system is now introduced of having elections a year after the occurrence of a vacancy.

121. NERSES V of Aschtarak; elected, May 18th, 1843; consecrated, June 9th, 1846; died, February 13th, 1857.
122. MATTHEOS I, Tchouhadjian (of Constantinople); elected, May 18th, 1858; consecrated, August 15th; died, August 22nd, 1865.
123. GUEORG IV, Kerestedjian (of Constantinople); elected, September 17th, 1866; consecrated, May 21st, 1867; died, December 6th, 1882. The see remained vacant for three years, in consequence of the withdrawal, followed by the death of *Nerses* Varjapetian, who was elected May 9th, and died October 26th, 1884.

124. MACAR I, Ter-Petrossian; elected, April 21st, 1885; consecrated, November 10th; died, April 16th, 1891.
125. MKRTITCH I, Khrimian (of Van); elected, May 5th, 1892; consecrated, September 26th, 1893; died, October 29th, 1907.
126. MATTHEOS II, Izmirlian (of Constantinople); elected, November 1st, 1908; consecrated, September 13th, 1909; died, December 11th, 1910.

The see is at present vacant. At the election held by the Electoral Assembly on December 24th, 1911, the choice for the Catholicosate fell on *Gueorg Surenian.* As this work goes to press the final decision of the czar of Russia on the two candidates submitted to him is still awaited.